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M E M O I R S

OF THE

L I F E

Of the late Right Honourable

JOHN LINDESAY,

Earl of CRAUFURD and LINDESAY;

Lord LINDESAY of GLENESK;

AND

Lord LINDESAY of the BYERS.

One of the Sixteen PEERS for SCOTLAND;

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL of His Majesty's Forces;

And COLONEL of the Royal North British Grey DRAGOONS.

By RICHARD ROLT,

Author of THE HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR.

Nil actum reputans si quid superesset agendum.

LUCAN.

L O N D O N:

Printed for HENRY KÖPP; And

Sold by Mr. NEWBERRY, in St. Paul's Church-yard; Mr. OWEN, at
Temple-Bar; and Mr. PATERSON, in the Strand.

M. DCC. LIII.

M E M O R I A L

OF THE

UNITED STATES

JOHN B. BERRY

JOHN B. BERRY



RICHARD B. BERRY

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Be
Bro
Bro
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Bar
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Boy
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Bag
Balf
Barl
Barn
Barri

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

A

ARGYLE, *Dutchess of*
 Athole, *Duke of*
 Allen, *Viscountess*
 Anstruther, *Lieutenant General*
 Adams, Humphry, *Esq;*
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 Anderson, Alexander
 Armstrong, *M. D.*
 Arthur, *Mr.*
 Astre, *Major Isaac*

B.

Berkeley, *Earl of*
 Brook, *Earl*
 Broadalbin, *Earl of*
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 Barrington, *Viscountess*
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 Barnes, *Mr. John*
 Barrington, *Colonel John*

Belcher, *Mrs.*
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 Blair, *Cornet Thomas*
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 Blair, David, *Esq;*
 Bland, *Mr. John, Junior*
 Blandwith, ----- *Esq;*
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 Bogle, *Mr. Robert*
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 Boothby, *Mr.*
 Bolney, *Mr. Henry*
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 Bowles, Edward, *Esq;*
 Boyd, Robert, *Esq;*
 Boscawen, *Colonel*
 Buchanan, *Major*
 Buchanan, James, *of Drumpeller, Esq;*
 Boyle, ----- *Esq;*
 Burnet, *Mr. James*
 Burrows, *Mr. Edward*

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

C.

Chesterfield, *Earl of*
 Cholmondeley, *Earl of*
 Craufurd, *Earl of*
 Caffils, *Earl of*
 Cathcart, *Lord*
 Carpenter, *Lord*
 Cadogan, *Lord*
 Clonfert, *Bishop of*
 Coke, *Lady Mary*
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 Campbell, *Lady Mary*
 Craufurd, *the Honourable Miss Ann*
 Caldwell, *Sir James, Bart.*
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 Campbell, *the Honourable Col. John*
 Cæsar, *Colonel Julius*
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 Campbell, *Miss Amelia*
 Campbell, *Captain Colin*
 Campbell, *John, of Saddle Esq;*
 Campbell, *John, of Ashmill, Esq;*
 Campbell, *Archibald, of Knorkby, Esq;*
 Campbell, *Colin, of Kilbury, Esq;*
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 Campbell, *James, of Jewersferagon, Esq;*
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 Campbell, *Mr. Renard*
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 Chetwynd, *William, Esq;*
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 Cockburn, *Mr. George*
 Colburn, *Mr.*
 Compson, *-----, Esq;*
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 Corker, *Henry, Esq;*
 Craigie, *Captain*
 Craufurd, *Mr. ---- of Donfide*
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 Craufurd, *Mr. Hugh*
 Crawley, *Miss Harriot*
 Crockat, *Mr. Charles*
 Cuninghame, *Captain*

D.

Dundonald, *Earl of*
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 Dumfries, *Countess of*
 Dalkeith, *Countess of*
 Dillon, *Lady*
 Dundas, *Lady Margaret*
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 Dundas, *Lieutenant-Colonel*
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 Dalrymple, *Cornet James*
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 Dunbar, Captain George
 Duncomb, Mrs.
 Duncan, Mr. Stuart
 Dundas, Mr. Robert

E.

Eglinton, *Earl of*
 Elibank, *Lord*
 Erskine, *Lord*
 Erskine, Lady Charlotte
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 Elliot, Colonel William
 Elliot, Lieut. Col. Augustus, George
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 Ellis, ----- *Esq*; one of the Lords
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 Eiffert, Mr. Philip

F.

Finlater, *Earl of*
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 Forbes, Colonel
 Feret, Frederick, *Esq*;
 Feret, Richard, *Esq*;
 Farquhar, Captain
 Ferguson, Captain John
 Finlay, Mr. William
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 Forbes, Captain Hugh
 Forbes, the Honourable Capt. James

Francis, the Rev. Mr. Philip
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 Frederick, Captain
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G.

Granville, *Earl of*
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 Galloway, *Earl of*
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 Graham, Lieutenant-Colonel
 Graham Lieutenant
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 Gibson, Mr. William
 Gilbert, Cornet Thomas
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 Hamilton, Dowager Dutchess of
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 Home, *Earl of*
 Hyndford, *Earl of*
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 Hamilton, *Lord Spencer*
 Hay, *Lord Charles*
 Hay *Lord George*
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 Howard, *Sir Charles*
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 Hacket, *Lieutenant-General*
 Halket, *Lieutenant-Colonel*
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 Hamilton, *James, Esq;*
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 Harris, *Mr. John*
 Hart, *Mr. William*
 Hawker, *John, Esq;*
 Hay, *Mr. Adam*
 Heriot, *Captain William*
 Herron, *Captain*
 Hewer, *Mrs.*
 Hilgrove, *maptain*
 Hill, *Mr. Samuel*
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 Home, *Henry, Esq;*
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 Hudgston, *Cornet*
 Hudson, *Captain Michael*
 Hudson, *Mr. Mark*
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 Irwin, *Major John*
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K.

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L.

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 Lindfay, *Captain George*
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 March, *Earl of*
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 Murray, *Lord John*
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 Macdonald, *Sir James, Bart.*
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 Montgomery, *the Hon. Archibald*
 Maule, *the Hon. John*
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 Muishhead William, *Esq;*
 Mura Hutcheson, *Esq;*
 Murdoch, *Mr. George*

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 Napier, *Lieutenant William*
 Napier, *M. D.*
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 Pritchard, *Mr. John*
 Pujolas, *Mr. Henry*

Q.

Queenberry, *Duke of*

O.

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 Ogilvie, *Lieutenant John*
 O Kelly, *Capt. Charles*
 Oliphant, *Mr. of Rossie*
 Osterheyde, *Mr. William*
 Oswald, *Mr. James*

P.

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 Panmure, *Earl of*
 Portmore, *Earl of*
 Petersham, *Lord Viscount*
 Petersham, *Lady*
 Preston, *Major*
 Pupley, *Capt.*
 Page, *Mr. Thomas*
 Palmer, *Mr. Thomas*
 Patoun, Archibald, *Esq;*
 Parsons, *Mr. Philip*
 Paching, *Mr. Resta*
 Perry-----*Esq;*

R.

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 Roxburgh, *Dutcheffs of*
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 Rothes, *Countess of*
 Ruthven, *Lord*
 Rutherford, *Lord*
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 Robinson, *Col. Andrew*
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 Reich, *Mr. Christian*
 Reid, David, *Esq;*
 Remer, *Mr. Andrew, Jun.*
 Renton, John, *Esq;*
 Richter, *Mr. John*
 Ross, George, *Esq;*
 Roth, *Mr. Michael*
 Rudge, *Mrs.*
 Rysbrook, *Mr. Michael*

S.

Somerset, *Dowager Dutcheffs of*
 Shrewsbury, *Earl of*
 Suffex, *Earl of*

Southwell,

SUBSCRIBERS IN NAMES

Southwell, *Lady*
 Sackville, *Lord George*
 Scott, *Lady Jane*
 Southwell, *the Hon. Mrs. Frances*
 Smith, *Sir Edward, Bart.*
 Stanhope, *the Hon. Charles*
 Stapleton, *Sir Thomas, Bart.*
 Stuart, *Col. Peter*
 Scott, *Colonel*
 Sinclair, *the Hon. George*
 Scott, *Capt. George*
 St. Leger, *John, Esq;*
 Scott, *Capt. David*
 Scott, *Capt. John*
 Scott, *Mr. Robert*
 Seaton, *George, Esq;*
 Sedgly, *Ben.*
 Selwin, *Mr.*
 Shaw, *Mr. Gerras*
 Sinclair, *Mr. Robert, of Stevenson*
 Smart, *Mr. Christopher, Fellow of*
 Pembroke-Hall
 Smeeton, *Mr. Richard*
 Smiedel, *Mr. John*
 Smith, *Mr. Iphraim*
 Smollett, *Tobias, M. D.*
 Southwell, *Thomas, Esq;*
 Spilsbury, *Mr.*
 Stephens, *Mr. James*
 Sterling, *John, D. D.*
 Strange, *Mr. Robert*
 Stuart, *Simeon, Esq;*
 Stuart, *Patrick, Esq;*
 Stuart, *Mr. Duncan*
 Stuart, *Mr. Peter*
 Skelton, *the Rev. Philip*
 Swan, *Mr.*

T.

Tweedale, *the Marquis of*
 Taaffe, *Coun*
 Tullamore, *Lord*
 Townsend, *Lady Viscountess*
 Tynte, *Lady*
 Thynne, *the Hon. Mr.*
 Taylor, *Thomas, Esq;*
 Thomson, *Thomas, M. D.*
 Thomson, *Charles*
 Toldervy, *Mr. William*
 Tuite, *Mr. Robert*

V

Vane, *Lord Viscount*
 Vane, *Lady Viscountess*
 Vanghom, *Thomas, Esq;*
 Valingen, *Mr.*
 Vaughan, *Evan, Esq;*

W.

Weymouth, *Lord Viscount*
 Wemyffe, *Lady Catherine*
 Wemyffe, *Capt. John*
 Wych, *Sir Cyril, Bart.*
 Whitmore, *Colonel*
 Walker, *Commodore George*
 Werge, *Major Richard*
 Wallis, *the Rev. Grilding*
 Ward, *Miss*
 Watson, *Mr. Robert*
 Whiteford, *James, Esq;*
 Wilkinson, *William, Esq;*
 Williams, *Captain*
 Williamson, *Mr. Richard*

*

Woadley,

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

Woadley-----*Esq;*
Woadley, William, *Esq;*
Worlidge, Mr. Thomas
Wyndham, William, *Esq;*

Y.
Young, Colonel John
Yelverton, Major

SUB-

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES

SUBSCRIBERS from ABROAD.

From Germany and Flanders.

PRINCE Waldeck
Prince Lobkowitz

Prince Stolberg
Duke Dursel

Veldt-Marshal Diemar

General Brown

General Ciceri

General Linden

General Luchesi

General Macquire

General O'Donel

General Pallavicini

General Machugo

General Burghausen

Comte Stampa

Comte Vitrimond

Comte Callemberg

Comte Castel St. Pietro

Comte de Pattin, *First President of Flanders*

Comte la Laing, *Governor of Bruges*

Comte Cowentzel, *Ministre Imperiale*

Viscount D'Oudenarde

Viscount de Putte

Baron D'jltten

Baron de Groshlaye

Baron Herwart

Baron Renette

Baron Booneem

Col. Callaghan, *Commandant of Nieuport*

Colonel Blunket

Colonel Obyrne

Colonel Dillon

Colonel Hufsey

Sr Boissier, *Lieutenant-Colonel*

Mr. Brady, *Physician to His R. H. Prince Charles of Lorrain.*

Mr. de Kempis *Seignior de Risoir*

Madame Murray

Capt. Mangeot

Capt. Jerome de Burke

Capt. Rameau de la Motte

Capt. Alexander Gibson

Capt. Charles O'Reilly

Capt. Mackensie

Capt. Louis Sturler Duvanche

Mr. William Greyson

Mr. Henry Bevers

Mr. Francois Sersteven

Mr. ——— Broyer

Lieutenant George Count Diemar

Miss Kempe

Doctor Wherlhoff

Mr. John Schrader

Mr. Francis Edel

Mr. Ignatius Walter

The Rev. Coelestin Kopp

Mr. Martin Kopp

Mr. Demuralt

Mr. Lespialt, *jun.*

Mr. Voltaire

Mr. Du Bois de Vroylande

Mr. Jameblin Neuville

Mr. John Fredric Fries

From

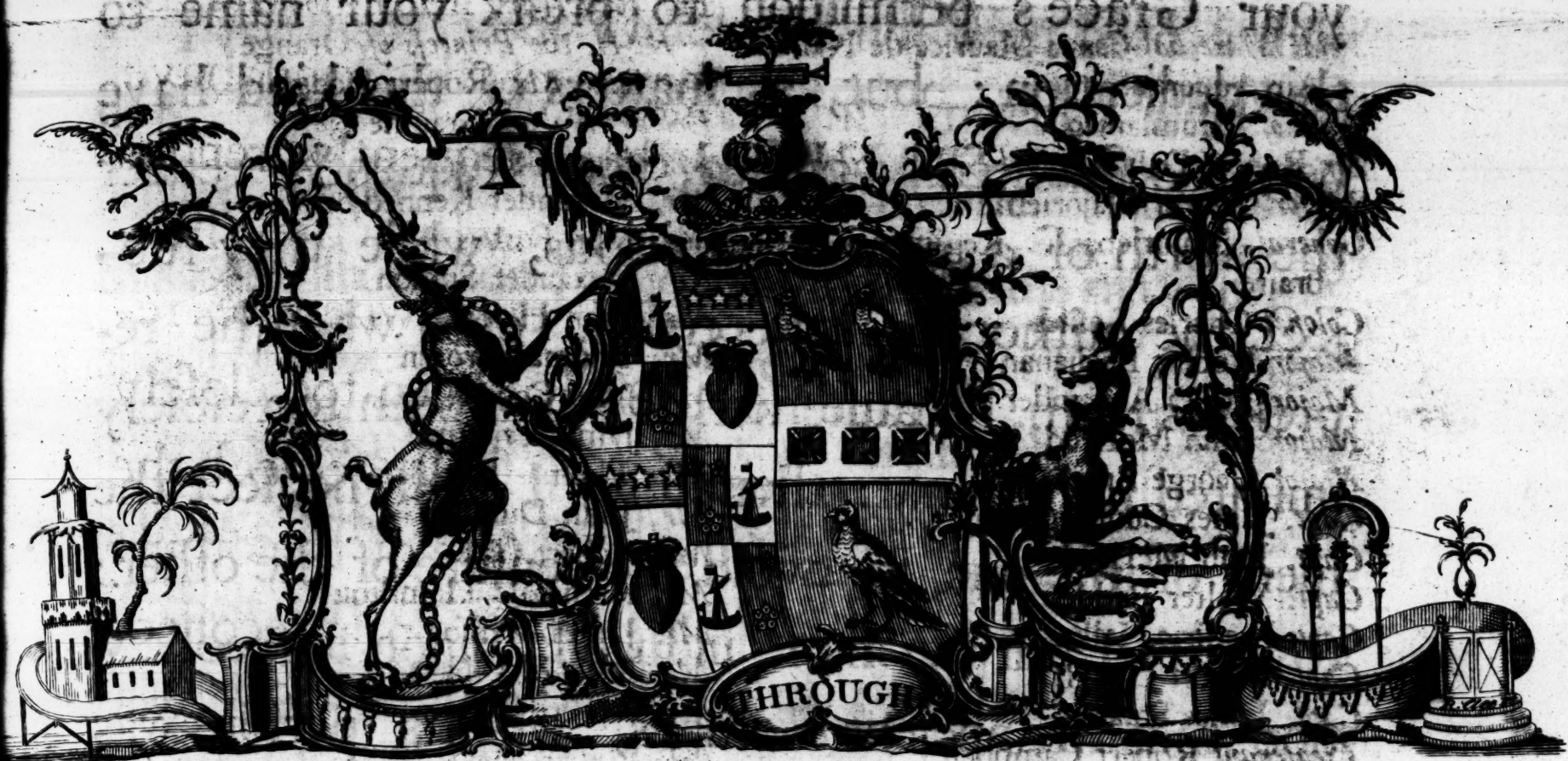
SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

From Holland.

Veldt Marechal Comte Maurice de Nassau
Auverquerque
Earl of Drumlanrig
Sir Robert Dalryell
Major General Majoriebanks
General Majoriebanks Regimental Li-
 braire
Colonel Charles Leslies
Major Robert Buchanan
Major James Alexander
Major John McLeod
Major George Bruce
Capt. James Cunningham
Capt. John McLeod
Capt. Walter Riddell
Capt. Fredric Halket
Capt. Robert Douglass
Capt. James Stuart
Lieutenant Robert Campbell
Lieutenant Simon Fraser
Lieutenant William Stirling
Lieutenant Robert Sandilands
Ensign John Brown

The Hon. William Boyd
The Rev. Mr. Ansley, Chaplain to her
R. H. the Princess of Orange
The Rev. Mr. Robert Douglass
Doctor Walter Graume
Mr. Alexanker Johnson, Agent
Mr. Alexander Kennedy
Mr. John Forbes
Mr. Alexander Simson
Mr. John Harris
Mr. Thomas Brown
Mr. John Coutts
Mr. James Craufurd
Mr. Thomas Douglass
Mr. John Dunlop
Mr. Robert Gale
Mr. Archibald Hamilton
Mr. James Manson
Mr. Richard Pillans
Mr. Robert Rickie
Mr. Francis Scott
Mr. William Strachan
Mr. Charles Freebairn
Mr. Robert Harvie

TO



TO HIS GRACE

J A M E S

Duke of HAMILTON and BRANDON.

MY LORD DUKE,

I HAVE undertaken the following work by the
direction of some of the most illustrious per-
sons in the kingdom; and I understand that I have

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your

D E D I C A T I O N.

your Grace's permission to prefix your name to this dedication : but, as matters of this kind have been too shamefully abused, they frequently render the worth of a patron suspicious, while they subject the author to little credit, even when he represents truth, because her dress has been too closely imitated by flattery : therefore, I shall neglect the merit of the one, to avoid the censure of the other : to which I am the more induced, upon a recollection that the ancient Romans, when a person was advanced to triumph for his services, hired people to rail at him in that circumstance to humble his vanity : but the present age is so unromanly refined, that some dedicators will not blush to compare every child of fortune, or every minion of power, to a Mæcenas or a Pollio : however, if I have no other merit, I never yet could be reproached as a sycophant ; nor shall I now attempt to wound your ear with unmeaning adulation.

THOUGH

DEDICATION.

THOUGH your Grace has not been bred a soldier, yet your veins are certainly enriched with the noblest blood that has dignified the best warriors of the Scottish nation; and from your loins may spring another issue that may prove the protectors of their country, in imitation of the virtues of their ancestors; which naturally leads me to a consideration of their services, in supporting the glory of their sovereigns, and in vindication of the liberties of their fellow subjects.

SIR Gilbert Hamilton, the first of your illustrious race who transplanted himself from England into Scotland, was remarkable for his bravery in the decisive battle of Bannochburn, fought in the year 1314. Sir Walter, his son, had several military commands in the service of Robert i. who honoured him with his niece in marriage; and his successor, Sir David Hamilton, distinguished himself at the

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unfortunate battle of Durham, in 1348. Sir James, the great grandson of sir David, suppressed a rebellion fomented by the earl of Douglas, and was created lord Hamilton. His successor, James lord Hamilton, was so distinguished by his excellent qualities and heroic virtues, as to obtain from his sovereign king James iii. his sister, the lady Mary countess of Arran, in marriage, by whom he had issue a son of the same name, who was created earl of Arran, and commanded the forces sent from Scotland to the assistance of Christian ii. king of Denmark; as also of those sent into France to the assistance of Lewis xii. where he acquired immortal honour. He was succeeded by his son James, who, on the death of king James v. was, by the unanimous consent of parliament, chosen protector to the young queen Mary, and governor of Scotland; being also declared the second person of the realm, and nearest to succeed to the crown, in failure of issue to the young queen: besides, several of the nobility

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bility proposed to secure the crown to his posterity, by bestowing the infant queen upon the lord Hamilton, his eldest son; which the earl honourably rejected: while he defeated the English in several engagements, before they obtained the battle of Pinkiecleugh: he was afterwards created duke of Chatle-rault in France; and, on the return of queen Mary from that kingdom, he was one of the greatest defenders of the protestant religion. He was succeeded by John marquis of Hamilton, who was so remarkable for his loyalty to queen Mary, that she remembered his fidelity in her dying moments. James, his successor, was appointed lord high steward of the household to James vi. and lord high commissioner to the parliament: he was afterwards created a peer of England with the title of earl of Cambridge, which was an honour conferred only upon the royal family; he was also invested with the order of the garter; and, though but twenty three years of age, was appointed to treat with

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with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, for raising 6000 men, to be commanded by his lordship against the Imperialists, for the recovery of the Palatinate, in behalf of the king of Bohemia: king Charles i. entrusted him with the command of the fleet sent down to reduce the covenanters, whom he reconciled to his majesty; for which he was created duke of Hamilton; and, after being confined by the king on a suspicion of his disloyalty, he procured an army for his assistance, of which he was appointed general; but was unfortunately defeated at Preston, in Lancashire, taken prisoner by Lambert, and beheaded by Cromwell on account of his loyalty to that unhappy monarch, who had just before suffered the same miserable fate. His grace was succeeded by William earl of Lanerk, his brother, who, at 24 years of age, was made secretary of state for Scotland, and was chosen by the committee of estates to command a body of troops against the covenanters, who obliged

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obliged him to fly into Holland on account of his loyalty, when he was honoured with the garter by king Charles ii. whom he attended at the battle of Worcester, where he received a shot in his leg which occasioned his death; when the estate and honour devolved on his niece the lady Anne, eldest daughter of James duke of Hamilton, who married William earl of Selkirk, eldest son of the marquis of Douglas; upon which account he changed his surname to Hamilton, and was created duke of Hamilton: on the revolution he was chosen president of the convention; and, on the accession of king William and queen Mary to the throne, became prime minister, lord president of the privy council, one of the extraordinary lords of session, and lord high admiral of Scotland. He was succeeded by his son James, who was made one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to king Charles ii. and appointed him envoy extraordinary to the court of France; he was honoured with
the

DEDICATION.

the command of a regiment of horse by James vii. in the reign of queen Anne he was elected one of the sixteen peers; and, after receiving several other honours, was created a peer of England, by the titles of baron of Dutton, and duke of Brandon: he was afterwards made master-general of the ordnance, and was honoured with the garter; but, being appointed ambassador extraordinary to France upon the conclusion of the peace, he had the misfortune to be engaged in a duel with lord Mohun, whom he killed upon the spot, though his grace also died of the wounds he received from Mohun, or his second Mackartney; being succeeded by your Grace's father, who despised the honours of a court.

FROM this genealogical abstract of your Grace's most illustrious and noble family, besides being the first of the peerage of Scotland, it appears to be one of the most considerable with respect to the honour

DEDICATION.

honour of its extraction, and the grandeur of its alliances ; as also, by the multiplicity of its branches in England and Ireland, where several illustrious families are descended from the Hamiltons, who had a great propinquity with the Lindefay family : the ancestors of both houses were generally of the same disposition ; but the most intimate friendship subsisted between your Grace's father, and the late earl of Craufurd, who was also respected by your Grace, who bore your Grace a particular regard, and, therefore, you are best intitled to the patronage of any thing that is offered to his memory.

THOUGH your Grace may have no opportunity of treading in the military steps of some of your ancestors, yet we are to expect that you will imitate the conduct of others, and particularly of James lord Hamilton, in cultivating the blessings of peace ; wherein your strong natural abilities, which have been so well improved by the advantages of education,

c

must

DEDICATION.

must render your Grace an ornament to your country, a serviceable subject to your prince, and an honour to your family : for you very well know, that your exalted rank and dignity are to be supported by the same virtues which conveyed these honours to your ancestors : you are sensible, that a zeal for the welfare of the community is the distinguishing characteristic of a man of honour ; who should consider, that he is born for mankind, more than for himself ; because the tax upon grandeur and opulence, is the exertion of that patriotic spirit, which should be incessantly engaged for the service of the public.

THE promiscuous approbation of the generality of mankind, is too coarse a food for that delicate appetite of fame possessed by men of virtue, who condemn the praise of popularity, and esteem no applauses but what they are conscious they deserve : upon which consideration, I shall only mention, that I hope
to

D E D I C A T I O N

to see your Grace the glory of your country, and to hear every honest man gratefully pay you the honours due to your character. However, permit me to say, that you have already given us the most sanguinary expectations of a conduct becoming your dignity, by despising the voluptuous pleasures of a vitiated age, and investing yourself with every domestic felicity, in the affections of one of the most virtuous, most amiable, and beautiful ladies in the universe; who must have convinced you, that the word WIFE is the most agreeable and delightful name in nature; who must have induced you to acknowledge, that MARRIAGE is an institution calculated for a permanent scene of as much delight as human beings are capable of enjoying: and it is the wish of my heart, that heaven will crown your lives with its most selected happiness, bless your bed with every nuptial joy, and make you the happy parents of a fair and glorious off-spring, whose virtues shall

DEDICATION.

perpetuate your memories through many, many generations.

I have nothing particular to observe with regard to the following sheets ; but, that they are wrote a little in the manner of Plutarch, by the desire of some general officers, and are somewhat of a representation of a truly great man, who has been an honour to his country ; being compiled through the encouragement of many illustrious personages of several nations, as a small cenotaph to the memory of an illustrious soldier ; and also, intended as a benefit to a faithful domestic, well known to your Grace, who attended him in all his military expeditions, and who participated of all his dangers. As to the latin elegy prefixed before the work, I have only to say, that your Grace knows it is the composition of an ingenious German nobleman at the court of Vienna, whose name is desired to be concealed. Therefore,
with

DEDICATION.

with my best wishes for the prosperity of your Grace's family, I am,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's most respectful,

and obedient servant,

R. ROLT.

D E D I C A T I O N

with my best wishes for the prosperity of your Grace's
family, I am,

C O N D E M N I N G M Y L O R D D U K E

Your Grace's most respectful

and obedient servant,

R. R O L L T.

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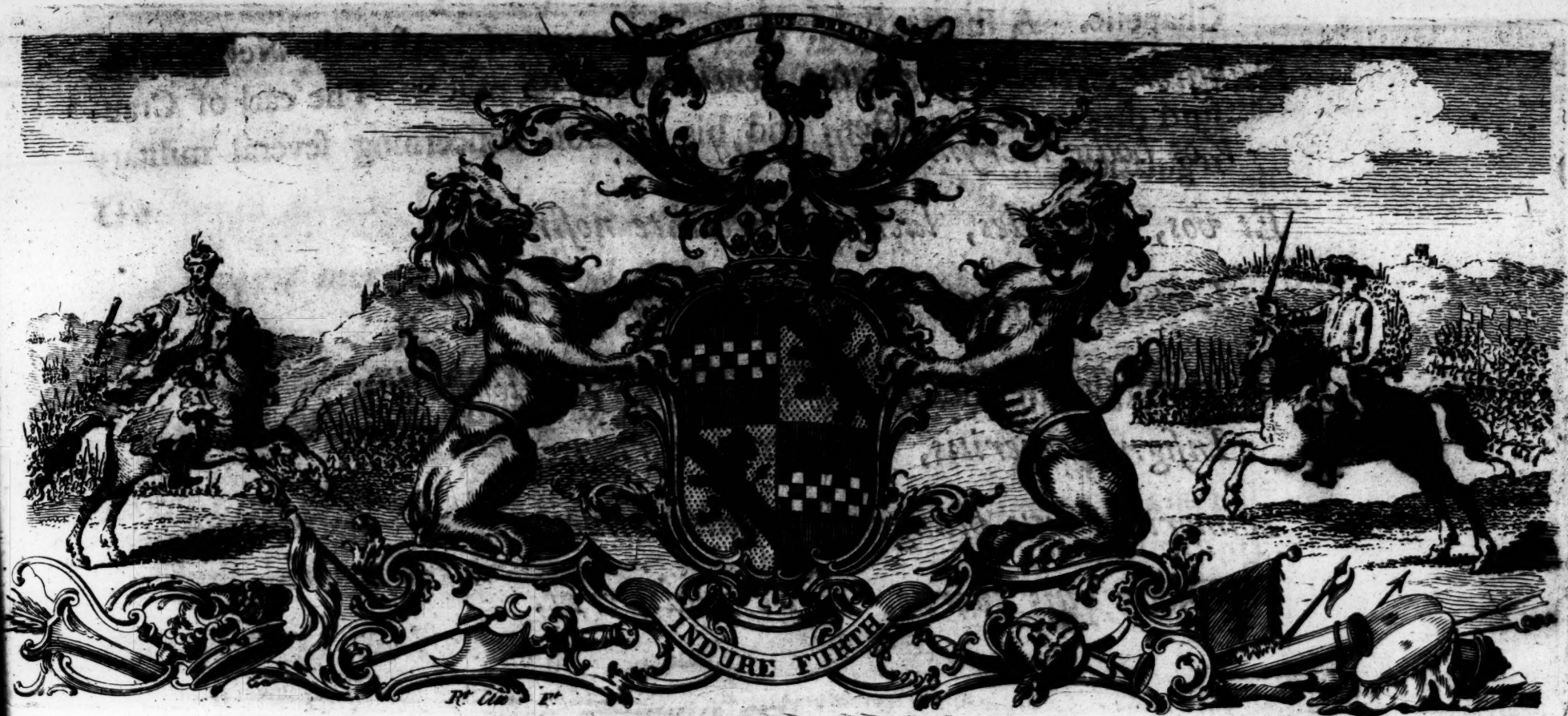
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In



In Obitum

NASCENTIS HEROIS
IOANNIS LINDESAY,

E X

Comitibus de CRAUFURD,
Armis & bello æque ac natalibus illustris.

E L E G I A.

ITE piæ lacrymæ, Craufurd jacet, ite, nec ullum
Ponite jam lacrymis, tristitiæque modum.
Ite piæ lacrymæ, semperque ita crescite eundo,
Crescere collectis ut solet annis aquis.

Qualitèr

E L E G I A.

*Qualitèr æternis manantes fontibus undæ,
Vos hodie lacrymæ taliter ite meæ.
Et vos, Pierides, lacrymis accedite nostris,
Lætaque turbatis demite sarta comis.
Plangite nobiscum, quem nos ploramus ademptum,
Insignem meritis, & pietate virum.
Immortale ejus plangendo reddite nomen,
Dicite quis fuerat, dicite qualis erat.*

*Hic, velut a teneris miles qui nascitur annis,
Gaudebat ficto ludere Marte puer :
Vix juvenis toto spirabat pectore bellum,
Quoque satus fuerat sanguine, signa dabat.
Unica cura suæ fuerat res bellica vitæ,
Et Mars in toto pectore totus erat.
Nam quoties solito resonabant tympana pulsu,
Stridentesque dabat buccina flata sonos,
Hic, velut acer equus pugnae succensus amore,
Optabat Martis posse subire vices.
Exemploque patris, proavum pariterque suorum
Ardebat belli castra, ducesque sequi.*

His

E L E G I A.

*His actum stimulis, primæque in flore juventæ,
Quo plena indomito sanguine vena tumet,
Gallorum allexit Craufurdum academia nostrum,
Et rexit mores, quæ decet arte, bonos.
Quos ibi progressus socios tot fecerit inter,
Indolis & dederit quæ documenta suæ,
Dicere tot poterunt in ludo semper equestri,
Quot socios inter præmia prima tulit :
Obstupefacta stetit persæpemet-ipsa Minerva,
Et tacitè dixit, noster alumnus erit ;
Dixerat, & factum est : reducem vix Anglia vidit.
Prestantem juvenem corpore, corde, fide,
Mox equitum primo factus centurio, paulo
Munere post dignus nobiliore fuit.
Nec mora ; rex Britonum regimen legionis equestris
Egregii juvenis captus amore dedit.
Nôrat enim qualis Craufurdi in pectore virtus,
Qualis erat pietas, & quoque martis amor.*

Aula

E U G I A

*Aula licet juvenum soleat corrumpere mores,
 Intaminetque animum, blanditiisque trahat,
 Sitque juventutis licet hæc funesta Caribdis,
 Non tamen hinc virtus naufraga facta sua est.
 Nec minor inde sibi præclaras Palladis artes,
 Legesque armorum noscere cura fuit;
 Semper enim studiis nocturnæ, dieque Minervæ
 Intentus didicit ducere in arma manus;
 Qualiter audacis vitanda pericula martis;
 Et pugna in mediâ palma ferenda foret.*

*Jam magis, atque magis juvenili in corpore robur,
 Crescebatque suus martis ad arma vigor,
 Exosus longam, gaudebat quâ Anglia, pacem
 Augusti petiit Cæsaris arma sequi.
 Assentat votis princeps: votisque potitis,
 Nec mora, nec requies, cor volat ante pedes,
 Agmen ad Austriacum totis citò latus habenis
 Stat promptus quasvis martis inire vias.
 Eugenio didicit primum sub principe, quali
 Arte, & fallendus fraudibus hostis erat.*

Quomodo

ELEGIA.

Quomodo num veris superari assultibus hostis,
Qualiter & ficto Marte subinde potest.
Quomodo cum paucis validum quoque viribus agmen
Sistere, post tuto castra locare loco,
Omnia scire cupit, meditatur & omnia secum,
Post vero scriptis singula gesta notat,
Discere sic cæpit tali sub principe bellum,
Cujus apud gentes fama perennis erit.

Sed tot ubi illuxit post turbida tempora martis,
Postque tot obscuras illa serena dies,
Quâ junxere suas in pacis fœdera dextras
Cæsar & imperium, Borbonidumque domus,
Nescius ignavam Craufurd traducere vitam,
Altera ut obveniant, & nova bella cupit.
Annuat his votis Mavors; mox fama vagatur
Turcarum in gentem Russia bella paret,
Bella paret satis est, martisque cupidine flagrans
A Britonum veniâ rege potitus abit.
Non illum glacies, nec hyems terrære nivesque
Longæ, & difficiles non potuere viæ.

Æ L E G I A.

Tantus amor belli, bellicque addiscere leges,

Tantaque militiæ gloria pectus agunt.

Ergo ubi supremi ducis ad prætoria tandem

Venerat, & dicto nomine notus erat.

*Magnâ ubi jam * Munich comitate receperat illum,*

Deque statu belli plurima fatus erat,

Tuque mihi, laterique meo, tu, dixit ubique,

Si qua superveniant prælia, junctus eris.

Interea audierat variis certamine multo

Gens infestabat tartara castra locis :

Impatiens pugnae † Calmuckis junctus amabat

Discere, quo pugnent ordine, quævisque modis.

Dumque vident juvenem medio in certaminis æstu,

Trojanus quondam qualis ut Hector erat,

Attollentem iras, & prælia dura moventem,

Cogentemque hostes vertere terga fugæ,

Quis

* Supremus dux.

† Natio idolatra, quæ cum Russis fœdus perpetuum tenet, & cujus princeps Dom da combo Craufurdi amicus junctissimus erat.

E P I G R A M M A.

" Quis deus, exclamant, sortis, pugnaeque sodalem,

" Attulit hunc nobis, auxilioque dedit?

" Dissimilis quamvis habitu, nobisque sit ore,

" Dexteritate tamen dirigit tamen pari.

" Ille igitur nostro si non sit sanguine natus,

" Næ! nostro nasci sanguine dignus erat.

Talibus atque aliis aequabant laudibus astris,

Virtutisque ejus debita verba dabant.

Quid mirum! quoties stabant ad praelia prompti,

Ad martis pariter praelia promptus erat.

Sic didicit quali certabant ordine Russi,

Pugnabatque quibus Tartara turba modis.

Nec solâ hâc illis belli virtute placebat,

Ast etiam meritis, indole, corde, fide.

Hinc Russis, ducibusque horum, placuitque vicissim

Russorum magnæ, Muscovitæque duci.

Hæc ubi virtutum dederat documenta suarum,

Et desiderium liquerat ille sui,

Decessit, gressusque suos ad Cæsaris agmen

Contulit, ut Martis rursus ad arma volet.

E L E G I A E

Belgradi stabant positis ad mania castris,
*Austriades Wallis * sub ducis imperio,*
It fama hæc inter Turcas ascendere Krotzkam,
Lunigerasque acies accelerare gradus,
Dux inimica jubet Wallis citò castra prohari,
Quo stent illa loco, quodve sequantur iter,
Mox ducis exequitur Bernclaw mandata supremi,
Secumque adducit millia bina virum.
Hunc comitari ardens Craufurd sese obtulit ultro,
Et festiva dies hæc sibi visa fuit.
It delecta manus Bernclaw || ductore; simulque
Ad Krotzkam celeri mox pede carpit iter.
Exultat campis sonipes, generosaque tollit
Pectora, pulvereumque ungula pulsat bimum.
Ad Krotzkam primus Craufurdus detegit hostem,
Et quoque præ reliquis primus in arma ruit.
Hostilesque citò sternit primo impete turmas,
Quas unà cogit mox dare terga fugæ.
Ast ubi Turca procul numerum, rarasque cohortes
Aspicit

* Marschallus.

+ Locus pugnae.

|| Bernclaw tunc generalis castrorum magister.

E . L A E I G I A . E

Aspicit Austriadum rursus ad arma redit.

Verum ubi Craufurdus Turcarum decrevere vires

Conspicit, et numero cedere tempus erat,

Illico cum Bernclaw retro vestigia flectit,

Prudentique ambo cum pede castra petunt.

Fama loquax subito Austriadum per castra vagatur,

(Fallere quæ belli tempore sæpe solet)

Nempe in vicinis ad Krotzkam collibus octo

Turcarum tantum millia stare virum.

Hoc paucos numero in manibus devincere, prima

Dummodo fama duci vera tulisset, erat.

Sed noctu hostile hac totum convenerat agmen,

Quod nullo poterat tutius esse loco.

Scilicet hic facili poterat se Marte tueri,

Et facili Austriadum vincere Marte duces.

Dux vero Wallis formatis ordine turmis

Fatales nimium mandat inire vias.

Incedunt præmissæ acies per strata viarum,

Quas petiit Craufurd inter habere locum.

Non procul a Crotzká via lata, simulque profunda est,

Collibus et variis cincta ad utrumque latus.

Quam

E L E G I A

Quam simul ac intrant primi peditesque equitesque,
 Mox tela ex omni barbara parte volant,
 Quæ citò viniferis immissa e collibus altis,
 Furtiva Austriacis vulnera multa ferunt.
 Hæc præmissa acies inopinâ territa clade,
 Aufugit, & sylvas præcipitata petit.
 Zanthieri, Eugenique equites, Palsque vicissim,
 Mox nova cum Turcis prælia martis agunt.
 Eugenii legio præ aliis quando impetit hostem,
 Illa etiam simili clade repulsa fugit.
 Sustentare omnes hujus certaminis æstus,
 Palsus, & Craufurd ausus uterque fuit.
 Ut leo sanguineam subiens massylus arenam,
 Mox viso tumidas excutit hoste jubar,
 Non illum lato terrent venabula ferro,
 Non illum validâ lancea torta manus.
 Sic quoque nec Craufurd quævis discrimina terrent,
 Nec circum sese fusus ubique cruor.
 Quo plus armorum, quo plus belli ingruit horror,
 Quo plus hunc totum martius ardor agit.
 Hic cadit a dextris, alter cadit atque sinistris,

Hic

Æ I L I E G I A.

Hic pugnat, ille furit, hic furit, ille fugit.

Fit strages : numeroque tamen non cedere Craufurd

Cogitat, et numero cedere turpe putat.

“ Quid facis, O juvenis ! numero tibi cedere fas est ;

“ Ni cito tot cedas hostibus, ipse cades.

“ Eripe te letho, teque his belli eripe flammis,

“ Hoc tua, quam quæris, fama metipsum petit.”

Dum loquor hæc, socios inter, Turcasque ruentes

Illustre hoc perat barbarus ense caput.

Jam jam promptus erat caput hoc avellere, et omnes

In caput hoc vires exonerare suas,

Dum simul ignifera pertussus glande repente

Craufurdi ante pedes barbarus ipse cadit.

Vix his ereptus felici sorte periculis

Ad pugnam rursus, quod docet ira, redit.

Vicini colles, vicinæ sanguine valles,

Et late tellus sanguine tincta rubet.

Mors parcat nulli : simili milesque, ducesque

Hæc inter maris fulmina forte cadunt :

Tandem

E L E G I A.

Tandem ubi Caesareas Janisfarus undique turmas,
Cinxerat, et Spabis nomine dictus equis,
Fatalis subito glans fulminis impetu missa,
Crausfordi cecum conterit aequa sedem.
Hoc dejectus equo violento pulcherrimus ille
Concidit, & sternit flebile corpus humi.
Care jaces Crausford! nec te tua dextera, nec
Gloria nunc tanto parva labore juvant.
Fama quidem super est, utinam tua fama vicissim
Vulnera quæ dedit hæc, vivere posse daret!
Quam bene pugnabant quondam cum mænia cives,
Cum vigor, & robur gloria martis erant.
Tunc aciem contra numerosam stabat Achilles,
Tunc Hector murus civibus alter erat.
At modo si redeant Therites sternet Achillem,
Hector ab ignava concidet ipse manu.
Sed quid ego hæc memorem? clamentem & multa gementem
Audire armorum non finet usque fragor.
Aspicit hunc primus Luchesi: accurrit & una
Auxilium, potuit quod citò ferre, tulit.

Nam

E U D G I A

Nam mandata ducis citta cum per castra ferebat,

Non longæ poterant hunc retinere moræ.

Interea stabuli qui dicitur esse magister

Continuo dominum quærit ubique suum.

Nunc ad sanguineam rursus festinat arenam,

Nunc campum circa fertque, refertque gradum.

Et velut Æneæ quondam qui fidus Achates,

Hic fidus Craufurd instar Achatis erat.

Hinc mea Musa illi dabit hoc quoque nomen Achatis,

Nam tali dignus nomine, reque fuit.

Ille ubi jam domini vestes agnovit, & arma

(Nam species vultus nulla prioris erat.)

Dat gemitum, laterique hærens procumbit, & inquit:

Care mihi Craufurd! sic miserando redis?

Vulnusque aspiciens, quod non medicabile visum,

Hoc reputat vulnus, quod videt, esse suum.

Sæpius incassum clamatque, vocatque peritos,

Vulnus ut hoc aliquis, qua decet arte, liget.

Unus adest tandem viso qui vulnere dixit:

Heu mihi quam pauco tempore fumus erit!

Triste tamen subito vulnus curatque, ligatque,
 Et simul applicuit mox cataplasma manu.
 Hoc curato abiit : paulum post temperis alter
 Advolat, & medicam qui quoque prestat opem.
 Scilicet ut sensit vi sanguinis usque fluentis
 Amplius esse suo non cataplasma loco,
 Hoc doctâ reficitque manu, mollitque, ligatque,
 Et cito post iterum scandere iuvit equum.
 Nempe propinquabat nunc huc, nunc hastis & illic
 Prælia committens proximiora manu.
 Dum procul à pugna suus ille fidelis Achates
 Sperabat dominum ducere posse suum,
 Austriadum occurrunt equites, quos impetus alter,
 Et novus in Turcas martius order agit,
 Labitur illorum Crausard vi pulsus equorum,
 Procumbitque iterum debile corpus humi,
 Luminaque attollens, quis me manet exitus inquit,
 Quæ tandem fortis meta futura mea est?
 Tollere corpus humo fidus conatur Achates :
 Tollit : & imposito corpore rursus equo,

Procedunt

E I D G I I A H

Procedunt sensim: sed procedendo sunt iuncti

Craufurdi accrescit pœna, dolorque magis

Incedatque lictet lenso per devia gressu,

Non mala, quæ patitur longius ira sinant.

Tunc ille hæc paucis, tenebris mihi lumina torpent

Et calor è membris, & vigor omnis abit.

Non possum superare meos, nec ferre dolores,

Tanta nec---his distis, comprimis ora dolor.

Debile corpus equo rursus cito tollit Achates,

Et simul in molli cespite ponit humi.

Complexusque suis pallentia membra lacertis,

Et versa in vulnus lumina sæpe tenens

Quo, Craufurde, jaces fatali vulnere læsus,

Hoc ferit, hoc lacerat me quoque vulnus, ait,

Tu modo---dum loquitur, gemitus, clamorque cadentum

Acceditque magis, proximiorque venit.

Aufuge, tum Craufurd, procul hinc, procul aufuge, dixit,

Et fuge crudeles, quas potes, usque, manus.

Nil refert animam fugitivam hanc auferat hostis,

Hinc brevior mortis pœna futura mea est.

E A L I E G I A

Nec refert moriar lethali hoc vulnere læsus,

Serius, aut citius sic moriturus eram.

Mors empta hoc pretio decus est: moriorque lubenter,

Cum letho nequeam nobiliore mori.

Hoc unum doleo: pugnae victoria non sit,

Effuso hæc saltem sanguine parta meo.

Ingemit his dictis: & eum complexus Achates,

Si moreris, tecum sum moriturus, ait.

Ac iterum domini complexus corporis artus

Qualis, ait, tua fors, fors mea talis erit:

Talis amor, pietas Nisi, Eurialique fuerunt,

Talis erat Pyladis, talis Orestis amor.

Desperata omnis dum res jam visa, salusque

Belgrado missus currus ab urbe venit.

Scilicet hunc Craufurd promiserat ante Lucbesi

Mittere; promissis & stetit ille suis.

Qualia tunc viso Craufurdi gaudia curru,

Gaudiaque pariter tunc & Achatis erant.

Illa quidem, fateor, quiscumque revolvare mente,

Dicere, sed ni quis senserit, illa potest.

Nulla

EA L E G I A.

Nulla mora : impositum rbedæ miserabile corpus

Belgradum versus carpit, initque vias,

Tandem optata diu tetigit dum mœnia Craufurd,

Hoc quid, ait, tuto me juvat esse loco,

Vulneribus, tantisque malis si adferre medelam,

Si pœnas possit nemo levare meas.

Quam fuerit visu horrendum, & miserabile vulnus,

Horret adhuc animus, præque dolore tacet.

Non ego quos passus, quos senserit ille dolores

Commemorem, memorem cor cui dura placent.

Non amor id noster patitur, pœna illa, dolorque

Exsuperant, quidquid dicere lingua potest.

Arma, virumque sequar, quem Mars, quem bellica virtus

Incitat, & belli rursus ad arma vocat.

Reginam Hungaridum augusto dum Cæsare natam

Gallia polluto fœdere marte petit,

Non Britones passi aggressam tot ab hostibus unam

Effundit vires Anglia tota suas.

Impatiens Craufurd sociis se jungere turmis

Curato necdum vulnere carpit iter.

Dettinguâ

E L E G I A.

Dettinguâ hunc Britones miscentem praelia primo

Videre intripidum, magnanimumque ducem.

Expositusque licet belli sit ubique furori,

Nulla animum terret vis inimica suum.

Quæ vero pugnaeque æstus, visque acrius instat,

Huc volat, & martis fulmina nulla timet.

Dettingana mihi modo non sunt praelia testes,

Sed quoque Fontenico quæ data pugna loco.

Hæc pugna, hæc clades nostro memorabilis ævo

Anglorum gentis gloria semper erit.

Illa diu victrix fuerat, desertaque victrix

Post numero à Gallis obruta, victa fuit.

Victa quidem numero, sed non virtute, nec armis,

Deserta à socio milite victa fuit.

Cætera quid dicam, quæ consilioque, manuque

Hoc bello à Craufurd gesta fuere duce.

Ardua quotquot erant subeunda pericula belli

Hæc cupit, hæc ultro posse subire petit.

*Sic dum prima acies noto in certamine *Roucoux*

Præmissa à Lotharo principe visa fuit.

Intrepidus

* Locus pugnae.

E L E G I A

*Intrepidus stetit ante hostes, & Saxonis iras,
Stricto omnes Craufurd sistitit ense minas.
Hinc modo non Britonum sibi consiliavit amores,
Ast etiam Lothari, Bathianique ducum.
Quodque magis rarum, in toto non agmine quisquam,
Qui non Craufurdum miles amabat, erat.
Omnia quid referam? fuerat spes Magna Britannum,
Et caræ patriæ spes quoque magna suæ.*

*Grata aderant tandem pacato tempora bello,
Armorumque furor jam procul omnis erat.
Jam poterat Craufurd post tot, variosque labores,
Turbida post belli hæc tempora pace frui.
A carâ in patriâ requiescere plenus honoris,
Dignaue virtutis præmia ferre suæ,
Dum cita fama venit, nostras quæ verberat aures,
Craufurdum morti succubuisse ducem.
O amor! O nascens belli virtutibus heros!
O Britonum gentis publica spes, & amor!
Lindsæique simul spes sola, atque unica stirpis,
Quam tua tota domus te moriente cadit!*

Ergo

E L E G I A.

Ergo jaces Craufurd! nec te mihi posse videre

Ulterius dabitur? sic mihi raptus abis?

Siccine crudeles nimium potuere sorores

Tam pulchra vita rumpere fila tuæ.

Nec deus armipotens potuit, nullusque deorum

Has retinere avidas in tua fata manus?

Quid queror incassum? quo me dolor abripit? actum est:

Craufurdi cineres lugubris urna tegit.

Urna tegit cineres, sed non tegit illa labores,

Claraque nec vitæ gesta peracta suæ.

Invitis parcis virtus ignara sepulchri,

Claraque post cineres fama superstes erit,

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

Of the LIFE of
JOHN Earl of CRAUFURD.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Introductory reflections on the use of history, and particularly of the lives of illustrious men : with remarks on military virtue.

CONSISTENCY and propriety form the glory of the human soul ; but few ages are productive of such illustrious characters. Men of a military disposition are more remarkable for this uniformity of virtue, than such as are devoted to the softer studies, and less dangerous employments of life : their actions are more conspicuous, and more worthy of observation : they are either the oppressors, or the guardians of mankind ; they either shine like auspicious
B stars,

BOOK stars, or blaze like baleful comets: for such is the difference

I. between that martial frenzy which seeks only to scatter the devastation of war for acquiring the name of a conqueror, and that noble ambition of the soul which studies the use of war only as the best preservative for peace; such is the distinction between an Alexander, a Charles of Sweden, and a Louis of France; when compared with a Trajan, a Nassau, and a Brunswick: because while one unsheaths the sword for the destruction of mankind, the other holds up the target for their security.

NOTWITHSTANDING this difference, the lives and actions of such men as have rendered themselves rather infamous than honourable, by their military prowess, have been as eagerly sought after, as the lives and actions of such men as are justly intitled to the first rank, and highest honours, of martial virtue: the manners of Alcibiades have been as carefully related, and as diligently observed, as the manners of Epaminondas; and the life of an English Cromwel has been as much enquired after as that of the Russian Peter: but, at the same time, the actions of Cato, and the conduct of Brutus, have been capable of affording an equal pleasure with those of Cæsar, or that of Anthony. So true it is, that military virtue, however applied, attracts the attention of men; because it is more uncommon than other virtues: in the same manner as the flashes of lightning make a greater impression on the eye than the mild beams of the sun: though as warriors are, like their weapons, either offensive or defensive, according as they are

are employed ; perhaps, their lives may be consulted by some CHAP.
men out of fear, as much as they are by others for imitation : I.
for it is the infirmity of human nature to be fond of hearing
such things as we should shudder to see ; and every man is
delighted with the description of a dreadful precipice, a con-
flagration, or a tempest, while the soul is startled with horror
at the scene.

PLUTARCH, and other eminent historians, have been more
serviceable to mankind than the best poets of antiquity, by con-
veying to us such great examples of the virtues and vices of
illustrious men : which occasioned Sir Henry Saville, when the
earl of Essex asked his opinion concerning poets, to say,
“ That he thought them the best writers, next to those who
“ wrote in prose.” Homer, indeed, has been called the secre-
tary of Mars ; but, with equal propriety, Thucydides may be
called his minister of state : for the historian has done more
honour to the god, and seems to have stronger connections
with him, than the poet. However, inexperienced as I am
in poetry, I entertain all due veneration for its divine authors :
for insensible is the soul that feels not the animating force,
that glows not with the noble spirit, which Homer pours
forth with such an irresistible rapidity of eloquence : the
mind must be impenetrable that is not open to the delightful
sentiments of Virgil : and the heart must be contaminated with
the dregs of slavery, that cannot start at the voice of free-
dom, when she speaks to us in the bold and florid language
of Lucan. But historians have always an advantage over poets :

BOOK these write to the passions, those to the judgment. The
I. language of the poets, like the finest medals in the cabinets of
the curious, is only to be understood, and enjoyed, by the selected few: the language of historians, like the best current coin, is intended for the general use of mankind; and the more diffusive it grows, the more benefits it conveys. Poets can inflame; historians must instruct: in the former, morality puts on her richest garment; in the latter, she is more plainly attired, more familiar, and at ease: truth should always accompany the historian; but eloquence is the best companion for the poet. In Homer, it may be observed, that all the conduct and courage of Hector were employed in the defence of his country, and the protection of his aged parents, against the violent, though just, invasion of a foreign enemy: Achilles exercised his valour in the common cause of Greece, upon that fatal revenge for the rape of Helen. Virgil discovers the good patriot, the just prince, the dutiful son, and the affectionate father, in Æneas; who, having employed his utmost prowess in defence of his country, saved his father and the Trojan gods, gathered up the remains of his ruined country, sailed to Italy, and there founded a kingdom, which gave rise to the greatest empire of the world. And in Lucan may be seen a bold, resolute man, bathing his bloody hands in the bowels of his own country, to ascend the throne of ambition, insecure as it was, and surrounded with as many dangers as those which threatened the invaders of the Hesperian fruit.

THE characters conveyed to us, and the morals inculcated, by these three great poets, have justly given their works the preference above others of the same nature: the poems of the two former have been properly called heroical; though the *Pharsalia* has been considered rather as a poetical history: however, if they afford more pleasure than history in the perusal, they are far inferior both in precept and example: for poetry, like a strong light, is best to be looked on at a distance; but history serves us like a useful taper.

THE four great monarchies of Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome, with the smaller kingdoms, principalities, and states, that were swallowed up by their conquests and extent, make the subject of what is called ancient story, which has been excellently related by the Greek and Latin authors; among whom, such histories as described the lives and actions of eminent men are of greatest reputation: because, from the actions and fortunes of their princes and legislators were, and still are, drawn the common examples of virtue and honour, or the reproaches of vice; which are illustrated by the felicities or misfortunes attendant on such persons.

MEN who have devoted themselves to the service of their country, deserve the favour of mankind when living, and their praises when dead: the greater the virtues of the man, the more worthy are they of commendation; not only as a debt due to his merit, but that so good an example of virtue should

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BOOK not escape the notice of posterity: For men are invited to follow good actions, and accomplish great ones, more by the force of example and imitation, than from that of nature. The historian seems born for the hero, and both for the public; though the services of each have been too frequently disregarded: but the historian should select such a man as is meritorious of praise; whose actions are worthy of being copied for the instruction of mankind; in which Tacitus and Suetonius are defective, as their histories, however elegant in the composition, are rather subjects of detestation than of pleasure.

THE lives of men whose excellencies have been greater than their imperfections, when properly related, are like beacons on the sea-coast to direct the course of mariners; otherwise they are like lamps in the sepulchres of the dead: for the facts of history produce the precepts of moral philosophy; so that by a good example, men receive both pleasure and instruction: because the perusal of such histories, is like walking in a beautiful garden, where variety delights the eye, while the soul is revived with fragrancy.

THE foundations of monarchies, and the institution of laws; the declension of one, and the subversion of the other; are matters of general history, which implies a general knowledge of curious things. The compiling of such histories is like erecting the Ægyptian Pyramids, or the Carian Mausoleum; which require a Cheops, or an Artemisia, for the founder; furnishing matter of amazement and contemplation. But, as the

the small temple of Delos was more resorted to than the magnificent one at Ephesus; so the life of one illustrious man may afford greater satisfaction than the history of his whole age and nation: just as one bright star strikes upon the eye with more force, than thousands of lesser lustre that surround it. General histories are only applicable to general things; but biography, in relating the life and fortunes of one man, brings the subject nearer home; like the telescope, drawing remote objects close to the sight.

THE shock of armies, and the fury of sieges; the murdering of men, and the destruction of cities; are terrible and pleasing in the relation: the ravages of tyranny, and the confusion of society; the rise of empires, and the fall of liberty; the suppression of arts, and the ruin of trade, are melancholly to behold, yet necessary to be read: for the revolutions of empire, and the manners of men, have no more vicissitude than the motions of the planets, or the change of the seasons; if they make no appearance in one part of the globe, they are to be discovered in another: thus the power of the Romans seems to be well cultivated in the desarts of Russia; while the luxury of the antient Asiatics appears to have a fertile growth among the present race of Europeans: if the house of Austria has lost its potency, that of Bourbon has acquired it: and if commerce has left her favourite island, it is no secret to what part of the continent she is fled.

BOOK

I.

As all men have the same passions, they must produce the same actions: all governments have some prevailing interest, which must occasion some particular view: therefore, whatever happens, either to kingdoms or to men, something similar has gone before, whereby precedents may be found to direct, and instruct, in times of national trouble, or personal danger; and, in the judicious application of these examples, a wise man may generally foresee accidents, if he cannot always prevent the consequences; the one being within the bounds of humanity, the other to be regulated only by divinity.

HOWEVER, though an Alexander, or a Charles of Sweden; a Cæsar, or a Czar of Russia; as they shone in more exalted stations, are more conspicuous than other men: yet their lustre was like the blaze of a comet, more to scorch than to warm, less to serve than to destroy. Galileo, Huygens, and other astronomers, found more pleasure in surveying the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn, than in observing the planets: so the lives of such men, whose state was beneath the dignity of princes, but their virtues above the glory of tyrants, have been more satisfactory, and more communicable, than those of the above-mentioned monarchs; whose vices exceeded their virtues, and whose passions were greater than their fame,

ALL men were not born to royalty; but all men are equal inheritors of virtue: the former is the peculiar bounty of heaven, the latter the general gift of nature. The glory of man
arises

arises not from external causes, but from inherent principles : CHAP. I.
princes and peasants are alike men by birth ; the difference lies
in the improvement of their natures ; whereby many private
men have eclipsed the radiance of monarchs : which is the
reason why Plutarch made no scruple to compare Aristides
with Cato, Lyfander with Sylla, Pelopidas with Marcellus,
and Agesilaus with Pompey : because this excellent writer did
not weigh honours with honours, but men with men ;
for he discovered as many virtues and abilities in a com-
mon citizen of Athens, as in a consul of Rome. Mili-
tary virtue gives this exaltation to our natures more than any
other : for when the views of a soldier are honestly direct-
ed, it is then heroic virtue ; and this heroism has caused an-
tiquity to immortalize such men among the number of the
deities. The best honour is not always seated in imperial
thrones, nor invested with regal diadems ; but frequently reposes
in meaner places, and shines more illustrious with obscurer
titles : an instance of which, besides those of antiquity, is to
be seen in the family of Medicis in Tuscany, particularly
Cosmo and Lorenzo ; whose virtue exalted them to that height
of honour, as to make them nothing inferior to the greatest po-
tentates of their time ; being themselves but private gentlemen
of the state, and bearing their proper names as their greatest
titles : which also may be said of the family of Doria in Genoa ;
especially of that great man Andrea, who acquired im-
mortal glory, by preserving the liberty of his country, when it
was in his power to have assumed the sovereign authority.

C

Happy

BOOK Happy had it been for Cæsar, as well as for Rome, if he had
I. acted in the same generous manner; for which he had an example in Sylla; the neglect whereof occasioned his death: and, though Cromwel successfully maintained his usurpation, there are but few instances of such fortunate tyrants; for Phalaris was massacred in the height of his power, as Kouli Kan lately was in Persia.

WE also find in Philip de Comines, a remarkable lesson of the instability of fortune, and the insecurity of power, in the fatal end of the duke of Burgundy: for this excellent historian, in his digression concerning the virtues of princes, observes, "That he had known him a powerful and honourable prince, in as great esteem, and as much courted by his neighbours, when his affairs were in a prosperous condition, as any prince in Europe, and perhaps more; and he could not conceive what should provoke the divine displeasure so highly against him, unless it was his self-love and arrogance, in appropriating all the success of his enterprizes, and all the renown he ever acquired, to his own wisdom and conduct, without appropriating any thing to god." The historian further says, "that he was partly of their opinion who maintain, that god gives princes, as he in his wisdom thinks fit, to punish or chastise the subjects; and he disposes the affection of subjects to their princes, as he has determined to raise or oppress them. Just so it had pleased him to deal with the house of Burgundy; for, after a long series of riches and prosperity, and six and twenty years peace under three illustrious princes,
it

it pleased god to send this duke Charles, who involved them CHAP. I.
in bloody wars, to their great affliction and expence; in which
most of their richest and bravest men were either killed, or
utterly undone. A similar fate has attended the families of
other ambitious princes; of which Charles of Sweden is a re-
markable instance. A lesson fit for all monarchs, who have
been told, by a very excellent politician, "that such changes
and revolutions of states and kingdoms, god in his providence
has wrought before we were born, and will do again when we
are in our graves; for this is a certain maxim, that the pro-
perity or adversity of princes are wholly at his disposal."

ONE of the greatest means for the attainment of wisdom,
is to have studied the histories of antient times; thereby to
learn how to frame and proportion our councils and under-
takings, according to the model and example of our ancestors:
because human life is but of a short duration, and insufficient
to give us experience of so many things; besides, our age is im-
paired; and as our bodies are debilitated, so is our fidelity one
towards another, especially among princes; of which there
have been too many late and fatal instances before our eyes:
so that princes should study history for their own instruction,
and the prosperity of their subjects; which depends principally
upon the abilities of the sovereign. Indeed, the lives of princes
are more fit for the perusal of such exalted personages than of
other men; because they are more intimately concerned in the
events: but the lives of other men may convey instruction to
princes; nor should the memory of any man, whose actions are
capable

BOOK capable of contributing towards such a necessary instruction, and

I. also to excite a virtuous emulation in the pursuit of honour, be permitted to sink into oblivion: for example slides easily into the mind; and if the soil is equal to the seed, what beautiful flowers may spring from so happy a coalition?

IT is with this view, that these memoirs of the life of the late earl of Craufurd are presented to the public: they afford many noble examples of military virtue; they exhibit the magnanimity of a truly heroic soul; and they point out the dangers to which a young soldier is liable in the pursuit of glory: may they serve to create in our young nobility the same spirit of martial honour, and to prompt them to an emulation of treading in the same glorious steps. For, to our shame is it remembered, that our nobility are dwindled away almost to nothing in their military reputation; they are only babes in this virtue, in comparison to what their ancestors were; and while France, our natural enemy, is more formidable than ever in an illustrious race of warriors, good heaven, how are the race of Britons degenerated! Britain is now emaciated in her strength; and her impaired constitution, like that of a consumptive man, at the same time that it gives evident tokens of a state formerly more robust, gives sufficient proofs of its present infirmity; nor can there be a restoration of health, without the revival of our national courage; which was the glory of our ancestors, and their peculiar characteristic; but so little thought of, and so much neglected, for almost this half century past, that it requires the strongest advocates to place it in its natural and beautiful

beautiful light ; which, if properly attended to, may not only CHAP. retrieve the character of our ancestors, but secure the enjoy- I. ment of our liberties, and the exercise of our religion ; both of which are repugnant to the constitution of France, who, as she knows our force, will take every seasonable opportunity of trying it : for she is sensible that the fleet of Britain, formidable as it appears to be, is not its only bulwark ; and even this she is attempting to rival ; which if she should as effectually do, as she has already done to our commerce, dreadful may be the consequences ; for if she should obtain one naval victory, what have Britons to depend upon for their security ? We have no other barriers, no other fortresses, but our hearts and our swords : let us fortify the one with true British courage, and exercise the other with a resolution becoming that character ; then shall we still flourish like the sons of liberty, and the descendants of Britons.

THE example set before our young nobility in the character of the earl of Craufurd is worthy their imitation : but military virtue, at present, seems to lie dormant ; therefore, the embers should be raked, before the fire is extinguished ; which makes it necessary to say something in commendation of that virtue, whereby the most glorious states of antiquity have been founded, and from whence the most illustrious men of all ages have been ennobled.

GLORY is only the shadow of virtue ; which must appear with the substance ; and, as the love of it is the most ardent of all the affections attendant on human life, it should be the most

BOOK most carefully encouraged. However, there is nothing great, or noble, in events proceeding from passion or chance: true fame resulting only from the steady perseverance of reason in the paths and pursuits of virtue; which is not expected from the common race of men, any more than the heat of the sun is expected from a star: but as the most resplendent light is from the sun; so the noblest actions are due from men of the most exalted rank; whose ancestors, in obtaining the honours that dignify their families, and shewing that they could serve the public, made their descendants its debtors.

NATIONAL courage is as remarkable among the inhabitants of Great-Britain, as in those of any part of the universe: but brave soldiers, without experienced commanders, are no more than a large body without a head: for there is a greater expectancy from a herd of harts led on by a lion, than of so many lions conducted by a hart. It was formerly a question, whether the virtue of the Roman generals, or the valour of their soldiers, contributed most to the aggrandizement of the empire. Thus Polybius, weighing the causes of a victory which the Carthaginians gained of the Romans, by the direction of Zantippus a Grecian, having before that time received several overthrows during the Punic wars; concludes, that it was more in the worthiness of the commanders, than in any extraordinary virtue in the soldiers, that the Romans achieved so many conquests.

IN the employment of men for service, virtue is to be regarded more than either age or fortune: for young men having exercised their valour, soon become aged, and rendered unapt

OR

or unable to serve: therefore, well-governed commonwealths CHAP.
gave the preference to military virtue before any other respect: I.
thus Valerius Corvinus was made consul in the three and ~
twentieth year of his age; Alexander was general of all
Greece at twenty; and Pompey triumphed in his youth.
Virtue chearfully aspires after a recompence, from that which
is simply her own; being rather glorious than profitable:
despising wealth for things altogether noble and generous.
But there is no virtue that so easily spreads itself as military
valour: for a man, however eminent in other virtues, is like
a great tree, where the forest is full of such: but a man re-
markable for military virtue, is like a lofty and extensive oak,
magnificently rearing its honours more conspicuous than any
in the plain. Nobility, among the Romans, had its extraction
from valour; and military virtue has been the only proper and
essential form of nobility in most countries; particularly among
the Saxons, and the other northern nations, whose ancient in-
habitants invaded, conquered, and colonized, so many Euro-
pean states, where they established the glory and terror of their
names: for the general denomination of virtue has its derivation
from potency. It may be said, with the greatest probability,
that the first virtue which appeared among men, and which has
given pre-eminence to some over others, was that whereby the
strongest and most courageous became masters over the weakest
and least valiant; thereby purchasing a particular rank and re-
putation to themselves: or else warlike nations have given the
excellency to that virtue which was the worthiest and most fa-
miliar to themselves.

BOOK

I.

MILITARY virtue consists in two parts: the first, in understanding the discipline of war, and the rules of service; whereby the soldier may know the course of things, and be capable to judge of particular resolutions: the second, is the faithful endeavour of executing such projects, as are propounded by the rules of war for the security of an army: both which parts are only attainable by use: for as the knowledge of military discipline is best acquired by practice; so the frequent repetition thereof begets assurance in action, which is nothing else but what is generally called valour. Hence it is evident, that valour and military virtue is the consequence of use and practice, rather than any inherent gift of nature; which occasioned the Greeks and Romans to maintain a superiority over other nations, less acquainted with arms, and less experienced with dangers: for all troops, at their first appearance in the field, are struck with awe, and are sensible of fear; which can only be removed by a familiarity with danger; or by practice and art, which far exceed nature.

BUT there are several instances, that military virtue proceeds not so much from nature, or any original habit, as from exercise and practice in arms: thus when Camillus was sent with an army against the Tuscans, the Roman soldiers were terrified at the number of their enemies: which Camillus perceiving, he used no other motive of persuasion to fortify their intimidated minds, and to assure them of a happy day, but this; “ Let every man regulate his actions according to what he has been

been taught and accustomed:" as well knowing where to CHAP. I.
excite their valour, and in what part their greatest strength con-
sisted: which continual exercise and use of arms, made the
Roman soldiers attain to such perfection, as to give occasion
for Livy to say, that "the valour of the legions was firmly
established, without their commander."

As a commercial state, peace is more adapted for the prof-
perity of Great Britain, than war; and, consequently, it is
for the interest of the community that a spirit of industry
should be encouraged among the general part of the people
more than any military disposition: but with our young no-
bility it is far otherwise; most of their honours are derived
from the sword; they should be more particularly devoted for
their sovereign and their country: as they are born counsellors
to the one, they should prove the defenders of the other; which
is best to be done by a knowledge of war, and the exercises of
military virtue: for give Englishmen but good commanders,
the natural courage of the common soldiers will be always
too formidable for their enemies: but if the national bravery
of our common men, is not supported by the military virtue of
our great ones, this land of liberty must soon fall into a state
of servitude, either to France, or any other successful invader.

WHEN Agesilaus invited Xenophon to send his children to
Sparta for their education; it was not because they should learn
the politer arts; but that they might learn the worthiest and
best of services, "the knowledge how to obey, and the skill

D

how

BOOK how to command." In other cities of Greece, rhetoricians, I. painters, and musicians, were sought after; but, in Lacedæmon, men only looked for legislators, magistrates, and generals of armies: in Athens, men learnt to say well; in Sparta to do well: there to resolve a sophistical argument; here to shake off the allurements of voluptuousness, and, with an undaunted resolution, to despise the threats of fortune, or the menaces of death: those laboured with idle words; these about martial things. There are many examples to shew that the study of the softer sciences, effeminates the mind to sloth, more than it corroborates it to war: the Turks are equally instructed to the use of arms, and the contempt of letters: and the Romans were most valiant, when they were least learned. When the Goths ravaged Greece, the libraries of that country were saved through an opinion, inculcated by one of the invaders among the rest, that such collections of books should be left for their enemies, as the most proper instruments to divert them from all military exercises, and amuse them with sedentary occupations. So when Charles viii. of France, in a manner without unsheathing his sword, saw himself absolute lord of the whole kingdom of Naples, and of a great part of Tuscany; his officers ascribed this sudden and unexpected conquest to the indolence and degeneracy of the Italian princes and nobility; who endeavoured more to become ingenious and wise by learning, than vigorous and warlike by military exercises.

ALEXANDER, after his recovery from that desperate wound which had like to have terminated his life and glory, when he

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fought

fought against the Oxydracans and Mallians of India, acquainted CHAP.
his principal officers, who were endeavouring to persuade him I.
to remain satisfied with the reputation he had acquired, " that
he measured himself not by the length, but by the glory of his
life:" for he might have been contented with his patrimonial
dominions; and, without exposing his body to fatigues, have
quietly passed his life within the bounds of Macedon, till an
obscure and inglorious old age had ended his days. Marcus
Cato, the censor, after reducing four hundred cities in less
than the same number of days, would not partake of the
plunder; saying, " that he did not blame those who fought
after these spoils; but that he had rather strive with the best for
the sake of valour, than for wealth with the richest, or with
the most avaricious for the love of money." Paulus Emilius, the
conqueror of Perseus king of Macedon, followed not the ordinary
studies of young men of quality of that age, nor trod the same
paths to fame: for he would not exercise himself in pleading
causes, nor stoop to salute, embrace, and entertain the vulgar;
which were the usual insinuating arts whereby several of his co-
temporaries grew popular: not that he was incapable of either;
but he chose to purchase a more durable glory by his valour,
justice, and integrity; by which virtues he soon rose superior
to all his equals. The same spirit of glory, the same pursuit of
honour, should animate the hearts of our young nobility; and
dignify them with more essential honours than bare patrician
titles: for Aristotle did not so much amuse his great disciple
with the sciences only fit for a scholar, as he endeavoured to
instruct him with good precepts of valour, magnanimity, and
temperance:

BOOK temperance : though, as for other arts and sciences, Alexander I. both honoured and commended their excellency ; but he took so little pleasure in them, that his affection could not easily be drawn to their exercise.

To what are the French conquests attributed, and to what is their military reputation to be ascribed ? the former is undoubtedly to the martial genius of their nobility, as the latter is to their perpetual propensity for war ; which, in a country always aspiring to universal dominion, is the doctrine of the governors, and the duty of the subjects ; however pernicious it may be to the happiness of the latter, while it is compatible with the views of the former. The French nobility have always supported the glory of their country, at the expence of their blood : it was formerly so in England ; and it is to be hoped that our national honour is far from being extinguished. Our nobility are as illustriously descended as those of France ; surely the virtue of Englishmen is not yet grown contemptible : the fields of Cressy and Agincourt bear the testimonials of the worth of our ancestors, while they witness the disgrace of their antagonists : the British lion, when properly roused, has trampled on the lillies of France. A Talbot and a Marlborough spread terror into the heart of every Frenchman ; but their glory is only to be sustained upon the same principles ; and that is, the martial virtue of our nobility.

EPAMINONDAS, named the fields of Bæotia, the stage of Mars ; Xenophon called Ephesus, the work-house of war ; and
Pindar

Pindar said, that Rome was the temple of Mars rustling in armour: but what can we say of Britain? where are our military academies; and how few of our nobility set us the example of martial virtue? while France is studious and liberal in the one, common and excellent in the other. Were more of our nobility to study the use of arms, we might have little occasion for entertaining the horrible idea of a standing army; a thing unknown to our ancestors, repugnant to our constitution, and inconsistent with our liberties. What gave the English arms such success on the continent in former ages? not the force of a standing army: it was the native bravery of our countrymen, animated by the example of our nobility: the former were only a militia; yet always too formidable for the French: the latter were then properly warriors; and, as Englishmen are always brave, the same illustrious example will always make them support the same glorious character.

THE Iliad of Homer conveyed such a noble spirit of military virtue, that Alexander could never repose without having it for his pillow; and Alcibiades was so enraged with a schoolmaster, for being without that excellent poem, as to chastise him for his negligence. When Agesilaus was demanded his opinion, what children should learn; he replied, "what they should do being men:" intimating the exercise of arms. In former times, our laws obliged every man to the use of bows and arrows; which always gave our archers the superiority over the French: and it is to be suspected that our present supineness gives us the inferiority, at present, in the

BOOK the practice of modern discipline. It is too evident and notorious a fact, that the French greatly excel us in the knowledge of artillery : but, if we follow their example, in forming proper establishments for the education of our youth in military knowledge, we might still be capable of supporting a contention for martial worth, of maintaining the liberty of Europe, and retrieving our national honour.

IN every state where military virtue is stagnated, the fault proceeds from the governors : therefore, wise princes were accustomed, even in pacific times, to encourage the practice of warlike exercises : for, without them, the most potent nations become not only ignorant in martial knowledge, but also effeminate : thus Pelopidas and Epaminondas in Thebes, and king Tullus in Rome, caused the exercise of arms, as well in peaceable as in troublesome times. It is a vicious fashion for the nobility and gentry of any country, never to shew themselves in readiness for military preparations, except upon some urgent and extreme necessity ; and to abandon their arms on the least appearance that the danger is past. However, the exertion of their military virtue is to be done with decency and discretion ; not in the manner of the emperor Commodus, who, though the son of Marcus Aurelius, one of the greatest, wisest, and best of the Roman emperors, when he ascended the imperial throne, became the most foolish and abandoned tyrant, that ever commanded the Roman empire ; signaling himself in nothing but the fighting of prizes, and encouraging one man to knock out the brains of another.

SUCH

SUCH men are far from deserving the reputation of military virtue, the paths of which lead to the temple of true honour and fame: these paths are to be traced in the lives and examples of illustrious persons, which are set up, like mirrors, to reflect their lustre on the spectator; and the memoirs of the earl of Craufurd convey a character worthy the imitation of such noble spirits as are ambitious of investing their brows with a wreath of triumphal laurel, which is here placed full in their view; but, as Sir William Temple says, "let them win it, and wear it."

C H A P. II.

An account of the LINDSAY family ; and their establishment in Scotland : with a relation of some of their most remarkable actions ; and also an account of the different branches of that illustrious family.

BOOK
I.

THE families of Scotland, distinguished by the name of Lindsay, or Lindefay, were formerly very numerous ; consisting of several branches, who were in possession of many extensive territorial jurisdictions, and invested with the most honourable employments in the state. The founder of this illustrious family in Scotland, was William Lord Lindefay, who is reported to have been the son of the earl of Lindissi, or Lindefay ; which was an antient Anglo Saxon earldom, in the kingdom of Mercia, comprehending the whole county of Lincoln : but, on the Norman conquest, the earldom of Lindefay was so much reduced as to contain only a third part of Lincolnshire ; and is still known, as one of the divisions of that county, by the name of Lindefay ; this division being about 30 miles long, from the town of Stamford near the south, to the ancient city of Lincoln towards the north end of it ; and about twenty miles broad, from the town of Grantham to the town of Shaford, upon the confines of another division called Holland.

THIS

THIS Anglo Saxon earl of Lindesay, or Lindissi, as it was then called, was, with other allies, engaged in a war with king William, the Norman, after he had violated his faith, by infracting the covenant he had stipulated with the Mercians, and those conditions of government upon which they had agreed to acknowledge him their sovereign; the principal of which was, that he should govern them by such their own antient laws, and customs, as had been in force in the reign of king Edward the confessor. But, soon after the ineffectual opposition to the arbitrary procedures of the successful Norman, this earl of Lindesay, and his confederates, were obliged to abandon their fortified places in the isle of Ely; upon which the earl embraced the most advantageous offers of peace he could obtain from the conqueror.

WHEN this peace was concluded, the Saxons too evidently saw the extinction of their power, and the abolition of their royal line, which had been in possession of the sovereignty of England, under their heptarchial monarchs, from the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in the year 447, to the reign of Egbert, who united the independent Saxon monarchies in the year 800; and whose general sway continued among his descendants, excepting about 50 years of their expulsion from the throne by Swain and his Danish inheritors, till the year 1066, when William the conqueror deprived Harold of the crown in the fatal battle near Hastings in Suffex. But William, the son of the above mentioned earl of Lindesay, perceived the liberties

BOOK of his country to be in a precarious situation ; as his country-
 I. men had submitted so universally to a prince, who, by the no-
 torious breach of his fiducial engagements, was more apparently
 an arbitrary tyrant, than a lawful sovereign ; who was more fe-
 dulously inclined for the gratification of his own despotic will,
 than the exercise of equity, the due administration of the laws
 of the land, and the observance of that sacred compact whereby
 he was admitted to his regal dignity, amongst a people whose
 hearts were alienated from their conqueror, and devoted to the
 interest of Edgar Atheling, the next immediate Saxon heir to
 the throne : which occasioned this earl William to participate
 in the fortunes of that great descendent of the Saxon line, and
 to retire with Edgar Atheling into Scotland, to the court of
 king Malcolm Canmore, or Great Head ; who was married to
 Margaret the sister of this unfortunate prince ; a lady held in
 the highest reverence and estimation by the Scots, for her ex-
 traordinary piety, and extensive acts of beneficence.

As the king of Scotland had espoused the cause of his bro-
 ther-in-law, Edgar Atheling, and was very desirous of obtain-
 ing the restoration of this exiled prince to the throne of his
 ancestors ; it drew upon him the resentment of William the
 Norman, who declared war against the protector of Atheling :
 but the Scotch monarch, being assisted by Sibert king of Nor-
 thumberland, after several battles fought with various success,
 wherein this earl of Lindesay conspicuously signalized his bra-
 very, concluded such an advantageous peace, that Cumberland
 was

was not only ceded to Malcolm, but it was also agreed that CHAP. II. Edgar Atheling should return in safety to the court of England, and have an ample revenue settled upon him. However, William Rufus recommenced the war against Malcolm; but all differences were terminated between the two nations, by the marriage of Henry i. successor to Rufus, with Maud the daughter of Malcolm, and niece of Edgar Atheling: so that the earl of Lindesay had no further opportunity of exercising his military accomplishments: but, by the public records of Scotland, as well as from the archives of this most noble and illustrious family, it appears, that this William de Lindesay was always a person of great consequence in the reigns of Alexander i. and David i.

SIR David de Lindesay, the successor of earl William, made a remarkable figure in the reign of king William the Lion, which began in 1156; and married the younger daughter and coheirefs of John de Craufurd. He was succeeded by Sir David de Lindesay his son; who was distinguished for his military disposition, on the invasion of Scotland by John king of England; and who, in the 35th year of king Alexander ii. executed the office of Justitiarius Laudoniæ. He had issue David his successor, who was a very brave and magnanimous person; and John de Lindesay, who was chamberlain of Scotland under king Alexander iii. in the year 1270. David left issue Sir James de Lindesay, who was the first of the family that bore the title of baron of Craufurd; and William de Lindesay, rector of Air, and lord high chamberlain of Scotland in the year 1317, under

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king

Book king Robert i. This James de Lindefay, baron of Craufurd,
 I. signalized his loyalty and bravery in the reign of king Robert
 Bruce, when his dominions were invaded by Edward ii. of
 England: but this nobleman was prevented in partaking of the
 most glorious victory that the Scotch ever obtained over the Eng-
 lish; which was won at the famous battle of Bannockburn,
 when Edward was defeated by Bruce, with the loss of
 the greatest part of his army: for this gallant lord was
 killed at the head of the army, then covering the siege which
 king Robert Bruce was carrying on against Stirling castle; and
 which was, by capitulation, to have been put into his hands,
 unless it was relieved, on, or before, the day that lord James
 Lindefay was slain in defending that pass against a strong de-
 tachment of the English army, which had attempted to relieve
 the castle: however, this lord added to his own paternal estate
 several noble possessions by the marriage of one of the daugh-
 ters and coheiresses of Sir Alexander de Abernethy; by whom he
 had David his successor in the barony of Craufurd; Sir Alex-
 ander Lindefay of Glenesk, who became possessed of those
 lands by his marriage with Catharine the daughter and heiress
 of Sir John Stirling; and Sir William Lindefay of Byers, the an-
 cestor of that nobleman whose life has furnished these memoirs:
 so that the Lindefay family was then divided into these three
 different houses of Craufurd, Glenesk, and Byers; the former
 of which became extinct in the year 1399, when the barony
 of Craufurd descended to Sir David Lindefay of Glenesk,
 who was created earl of Craufurd, and was married to
 Jane the daughter of king Robert ii. from whom, and
 the

the Lindefays of the Byers, who, in 1661, became possessed of the estates, and invested with the honours, of the family of Glenesk, all the different branches of that noble family are descended.

CHAP. II.

It has been shewn, that the two principal branches, or stems, of the family of the Lindefays of Scotland, are descended from lord James, who was killed upon Stirling bridge; and who left behind him the three before-mentioned sons, David, Alexander, and William: of whom, David, the eldest son, succeeded his father in all his patrimonial estates of Warhopdale, and Eshdale; and also in all those large estates which he had acquired by the forfeiture of the great John Cummin of Badenoch, a nobleman of royal extraction, who occasioned a revolt in 1300; those lands being the lordships of Badenoch, Lochaber, Struther, Stradeum, Glenlivet, and the brae of Murray; in which last, David, one of the earls of Craufurd, built a very stately castle upon the north side of the river Keura, four miles west from the town of Inverness; a great part whereof is still intire.

LORD Alexander, the second son of lord James, married Catharine Stirling, heiress of Glenesk; by whom he got the lordship of Glenesk, with another considerable estate, and several other lands lying contiguous thereto.

WILLIAM, the third son of lord James, who was lord Lindefay of Byers, married Euphan More, the sole daughter and

BOOK and heiress of Sir William More, lord of Abertorn in the shire
 I. of Linlithgow; and got by that marriage the lordship of Abertorn, with the lands of Dean, near Edinburgh; being called in all the old writs, Abercorn, et terris Dean sibi annexis.

ALEXANDER, lord Lindesay of Glenesk, was, with several hundreds of his military tenants, and fourscore gentlemen of rank, of his name, killed at the battle of Duplin; as were both his brothers, David lord Lindesay of Craufurd, and William lord Lindesay of Byers, at the battle of Dutham.

DAVID, the eldest of these three brothers, was succeeded by his son David; who, dying without male issue, was succeeded in all his estates and dignities, both patrimonial and acquired, by his cousin Alexander, lord of Glenesk, the son and successor of that lord Alexander who was killed at Duplin. This Alexander, the second lord of Glenesk, was succeeded in all those estates and dignities by his son David; who was raised to the dignity of an earl, by having his lands of Craufurd Moor, and certain other lands, created by charter, into a Liberum comitatum.

FROM this period, these two principal branches continued to be two distinct families: the one, the earls of Craufurd; the other, the lords Lindesay of Byers; until the reign of king Charles i. when they were both united in the person of John lord

JOHN Earl of CRAUFURD.

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lord Lindesay of Byers, who had been created earl of Lindesay CHAP.
by patent. This earl John left behind him two sons, William II.
and Patrick; the former of which succeeded him as earl of
Craufurd and Lindesay.

WILLIAM was succeeded by his eldest son John; who died
in London in December 1713, being then colonel of a troop
of grenadier guards, and lieutenant general of the British forces;
who was succeeded by his eldest son the late earl John; the
brave and unfortunate nobleman, who received that desperate
wound at the battle of Krotzka, which partly occasioned his
death at London, on the 25th of December, 1749; but, as
he died unmarried, his honours descended to the lord viscount
Garnoch, the descendent of Patrick Lindesay, the second son
of that earl John, in whom the two families of Craufurd and
Lindesay were united.

THE honourable gentleman who furnished this account,
would have been more particular and explicit in this relation,
if he had not been prevented by a dangerous indisposition;
especially as to the several parts of it which require authenti-
cated vouchers to clear the descent of the Lindesays of Scotland
from the antient Anglo Saxon earl of Lindesay in the kingdom
of Mercia: but, as to the descent of the two chief branches of
the family in Scotland, the earls of Craufurd lord Lindesay of
Glenesk, and of the lords Lindesay of Byers, who were also
earls of Lindesay; the first of these being descended from
Alexander who was the second, and the other from William
who

BOOK who was the third, son of James lord Lindefay of Craufurd, I. who was killed upon Stirling bridge; these descents are apparent from vouchers of a later date; and at this time easily to be exhibited.

LORD David Lindefay, who married one of the daughters and coheireffes of John lord Craufurd of Craufurd, was in possession of the lands of Warhopdale, and of the five kirks or parishes of Elhdale, as they were called; with other lands also contiguous; which were granted by king David i. of Scotland to William earl of Lindefay, in reward of his faithful services to the crown: therefore lord David Lindefay consented that his father-in-law should grant every part of his lands to John Craufurd his cousin, and heir male; which lands then were, and still are, called, from the names of the grantor and grantee, Craufurd John; as the other lands are called Craufurd Lindefay, and Craufurd castle; the whole lying in the shire of Lanerk, and county of Clydesdale: this castle being the mesuage of the earldom of Craufurd, where the earls of Craufurd were accustomed to hold their county courts long after the lands had been granted away to the earls of Douglas, in exchange for other lands lying more contiguous to the estate of the earls of Craufurd in Angus; though, at this time, castle Craufurd is the property of the earl of Selkirk.

THE second David lord Lindefay of Craufurd, who died without male issue, and was succeeded in all his estate, as before related, by his cousin Alexander lord Lindefay of Glenesk, who

who was father to the first earl of Craufurd, and son to Alexander lord Lindesay who was killed at Duplin; gave away some of his lands in East Lothian, in his life time, to his uncle William lord Lindesay of Byers; and, in one of these grants, he is called, and described, David dominus Lindesay de Craufurd, filius Davidis filii quondam Jacobi, the same being a grant of the Lands of Garmilton, in favour of his said uncle William lord Lindesay of Byers; but, in failure of issue male of his body, to Alexander Lindesay of Glenesk, his other uncle; the grant concluding with the clause of reversion; Et si ambo fratres viam omnis carnis ingrediantur, sine hæredibus masculis corporibus suis procreandis, revertat ad nos & hæredes masculos nostros. In which manner all the old settlements of these families were made, being always to heirs male; and yet the estates of the most considerable branches of these families were transferred by marriage into other families.

It would take too much time here to give a more particular account of the descents of the principal branches of the family: however, it is requisite to mention something of the different branches; and, in the first place, to give some description of their armorial bearing, which is quarterly 1st and 4th the arms of Lindesay, being gules, a fess, cheque, vert and argent; and azure 2d and 3d the arms of Abernethy, lord Abernethy, being, or a lion rampant, gules surmounted, of a bendlet sable; supporters two lions gules; crest, an ostrich with a key in its mouth, with this motto, Indure Furth; which lord Abernethy had a very noble estate, and divided it among three

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female

BOOK female coheireffes; one of whom was married to the earl of
 I. Douglass, another to the earl of Craufurd, and the third to the
 ancestor of the present earl of Rothes. But the armorial bearing of the lords Lindefay of the Byers, earl of Lindefay, is the arms of Lindefay and More of Abercorn composed; being a fess, cheque argent, and azure in chief, three mullets in the 2d for More lord of Abercorn.

As to the different branches of this noble family, they are first the Lindefays of Dunrods; who had a great estate in the shires of Air, and Clydesdale; where they had also a magnificent house, called the Mains of Killbryde, which is mostly still remaining, though in a ruinous condition.

2d, THE Lindefays of Craigie, in the shire of Air, whose estate went, by an heiress, to the Wallaces; who bear the arms of Lindefay and Wallace quartered.

3d, THE Lindefays of Bonhill, who were descended of the Dunrods; but are now extinct.

4th, THE Lindefays of Covington, in Clydesdale; and 5th, the Lindefays of Bellflone, and Delphington; who are descended from the former.

6th, THE Lindefays of Innerivick, in the same shire; one part of whose estate went, by an heiress, to the Cockburns of Cockburn and Lanton, who bear the arms of Lindefay composed

posed with those of Cockburn and Lanton; and the other also CHAP. II.
 went, by an heiress, to a younger son of the house of Hamil-
 ton, who bore the arms of Lindefay and Hamilton composed.

7th, THE Lindefays of Dowhill in Kinross; who bear the arms of Lindefay only with maternal distinction in base; being three bears weary; which are the arms of the lord Drummond. And

8th, THE Lindefays of Kevill in Fife, who bear the arms of the earl of Craufurd.

BUT, besides these, which were the principal branches, there were a great number of Lindefays who had small estates in the shire of Angus, where the power of the earls of Craufurd was very great. There were also many families of the same name, who had small estates in the shire of Fife, where the power of the lords Lindefay of Byers was no less considerable than that of the earl of Craufurd in Angus; and the general part of those in Fife were direct descendants of the lord Lindefay's family; as,

1st, THE Lindefays of the Mount; who bear the lord Lindefay's arms, with the maternal distinction of a rose in base: which, being a part of the bearing of the Stuarts earl of Lennox, shews they were descended of lord Lindefay's family by a daughter of the earl of Lennox.

BOOK

I.

2d, THE Lindefays of Kirkforther, descended from Patrick lord Lindefay, who was chosen president of the great assembly of lords and chiefs in the council of war before the battle of Flouden, where he was killed ; who bear the arms of the lord Lindefay, with the maternal distinction of a hunting horn.

3d, THE Lindefays formerly of Paetstone, but now of Wormstone ; who bear the lord Lindefay's arms, with the maternal distinction of a masculine base : which, being a part of the armorial bearing of the Bethunes of Balfour, shews they are descended of lord Lindefay's family, by a daughter of the family of Bethune of Balfour.

THERE were some other families in Fife, which are now extinct, also descended of lord Lindefay's family : such as the Lindefays of Killwhiss and Rossy ; and the Lindefays of Pitscotty. The Lindefays, earls of Balcarras, have long been in possession of a very good estate in Fife ; but they are not of the lord Lindefay's family ; being the heirs male and only representatives of Lindefay of Edgehill, whose descendants always asserted that they were nearer heirs male to the lord Craufurd, than the lord Lindefays were.

THE union of these families of Craufurd and Lindefay was effected in consequence of a mutual settlement and deed of intail, first made between David earl of Craufurd, and Robert lord Lindefay of Byers ; which deed was afterwards renewed and

and confirmed by a subsequent deed, made between Lodowick CHAP.
earl of Craufurd, and John lord Lindefay, who was the first II.
earl of Lindefay, and son to lord Robert: this deed was ra-
tified in parliament; and it is reported that the earl of Crau-
furd entered into the agreement on account of the feud
and enmity subsisting between the family of Craufurd and
the family of Edgehill, from the time that lord Lindefay
of Spenzie had been killed by David Lindefay of Edgehill,
which was occasioned in the following manner. This David
earl of Craufurd, who made the first settlement with Robert
lord Lindefay, had, by his enormities and profligate behaviour,
so much incurred the displeasure of his father, that he obliged
him to live abroad as an exile: when Sir David Lindefay of
Balgais entirely gained the confidence of the old earl, and so
far abused the trust he had reposed in him, as to prevail upon
the earl, while he was depressed with the debility and infirmi-
ties of age, to disinherit his son, and settle his whole estate and
dignity on Lindefay of Edgehill; who was nephew to sir David
of Balgais. But, upon the death of the old earl, the young
man returned, and not only set this deed of settlement aside;
but was so much exasperated against his kinsman Sir David,
that he slew him the first time he had an opportunity of meet-
ing him. Upon this, David Lindefay of Edgehill, nephew to
the deceased knight, with some desperate young men of his
acquaintance, came to Edinburgh, where the earl of Craufurd
then was, to be revenged on the earl for the death of his uncle;
when the lord Lindefay of Spenzie, who was then likewise at
Edinburgh, did all he could to dissuade Edgehill from his rash
and

BOOK and wicked purpose; appearing in the street with the earl of

I. Craufurd on the next day, in hopes that, by his authority, he could have prevented any mischief; because he was then a person in years, and highly esteemed on account of his virtue, and many good qualities. But Edgehill was so intent upon his purpose, that he attacked the earl of Craufurd as soon as he saw him; though he was prevented by the interposition of the lord Spenzie; when Edgehill, finding himself disappointed of his design upon the earl, killed lord Spenzie; which obliged Edgehill to fly into foreign parts, where he wasted the greatest part of that estate, which the earl's father had settled upon him.

IN that deed whereby the earl of Craufurd settled his estate, in prejudice of his own son, upon Edgehill, he calls him his nearest heir male unforfeited; but if the Lindefays of Edgehill have no other vouchers to prove their propinquity to the family of Craufurd than that deed, their pretensions are on a very sandy foundation: because, although the earl considered the right of his son, who had incurred his displeasure, to be forfeited, yet Edgehill could not be his nearest heir male; for Alexander lord Spenzie, who was afterwards killed by Edgehill, was then alive, and was the earl's nephew; that lord Spenzie was succeeded by his son of the same name, who raised a regiment in his own country, and carried it to Germany, where he entered with it into the service of those princes who were confederated with Gustavus Adolphus, in defence of their civil rights and privileges, against Ferdinand ii. and his Popish allies: and that lord Alexander of Spenzie dying abroad, with-

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out heirs male, the family of Spenzie ended in him. Besides, CHAP.
it is commonly said in Angus, that the latest cadets of the earl II.
of Craufurd's family, were the families of Edgehill or Edgel,
Evelick, and Kinettles; the first of which is extinct, but repre-
sented by the earl of Balcarras, as heir male by direct descent:
the family of Evelick are knights baronets: and the last of the
family of Kinettles was doctor Thomas Lindefay, an eminent
clergyman, who died lord archbishop of Armagh, and primate
of all Ireland; which office he filled with great dignity for
many years.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

An account of his lordship's education, with several remarkable incidents, to his first entrance into the army, and to the time of his being elected one of the sixteen peers for Scotland.

BOOK
II.

J O H N earl of Craufurd, whose life furnishes these memoirs, was the eldest son of John earl of Craufurd, by a daughter of lord Down, being born on the 4th day of October, 1702: but he lost his mother in his infancy, who, besides his lordship, left another son, and two daughters, by the earl of Craufurd; as also three sons by the laird of Strichan, her former husband. His father, being at that time captain of the second troop of horse grenadier guards, and lieutenant general of queen Anne's forces, was obliged generally to take up his residence in London: so that the care of his children was committed to an old governante at the family seat, at Struthers in Fifeshire.

His lordship has frequently been heard to say, that he could remember, when he was a boy in frocks, that, one day as the duke of Argyle and duke of Hamilton were at dinner with his father,

father, they seemed to have a warm debate concerning some national affairs, and that he often heard a repetition of the word Union. That, as he was playing his boyish tricks about the room, the duke of Argyle took him up in his arms, and set him standing on the table among the bottles and glasses; saying, to his father, "Craufurd, if this boy lives, I wonder whether he will be of your sentiments?" to which the earl replied, "he certainly will, if he has a drop of my blood in his body:" whereupon his grace kissed him, and set him down; saying, "I warrant he will make a brave fellow."

IN December 1713, his lordship lost his father: but queen Anne, in consideration of his services, and from her royal regard to an orphan family, took care of their maintenance and education. The duchess dowager of Argyle being then in Scotland, where she led a retired life in the Highlands, sent for the young earl of Craufurd, who was then about nine years of age, together with his brother and sisters, to live under her management; as they were nearly related to her grace: so that the young earl was brought up under the care of the duchess till he was of a proper age for the university.

NOTHING extraordinary happened during his continuance under the care of her grace of Argyle, but a little incident of love with a young Highland shepherdes, in whose company he frequently amused himself, as he was playing about the hills; which so imperceptibly stole upon his young heart, as to create all the warmth of a fond innocent passion for his dear pretty

BOOK companion; his affection being so strong, that he could not be
II. restrained within doors, not even to meals, which he was accustomed to make on her oaten bread; and his lordship has often declared, that the harmless recreations which he partook, and the pleasing sensations he enjoyed, in the company of his little shepherdes, made a stronger impression upon his mind, than all the gallantries of the politer world, and all the pleasures of a court. Nor was this delicate passion of the heart, any ways derogatory to his native bravery of soul: for valiant persons are most subject to love; because courage and an inclination to love, have the same original temperament of the body; and that is, heat of blood: for the age wherein man is most courageous through this heat, is that wherein he is most susceptible to love. Or else it may be, because love is a passion which has both beauty and nobleness; and that men truly courageous, as they have the noblest souls; so have they also a greater propensity to all the passions that have any ray of nobleness and beauty. For which reason, such men are subject to ambition; because it is a passion that has some mixture of generosity and probity: they are also inclinable to opinionativeness; because it has a shadow of constancy: but, on the contrary, they are less liable than other men to avarice, cruelty, and desire of revenge; because these motions of the soul have not the least appearance either of nobleness or beauty. Therefore poets call the excess of love "handsome fooleries;" because they carry a denotation of beauty in the soul where they are formed, intimating a violent inclination for the love of perfection. Or else it may be, that even the inclination to love
perfection

perfection is the principal motive, and only fountain of true CHAP. courage: so that if love has any ray of so divine a flame, it is I. no wonder that those who have an extreme high courage, are most subject to the most amiable passion. Men of the most remarkable bravery of heart, and sublimity of mind, have been captivated by the alluring glance of beauty: though their souls were firm as Hyperborean ice, capable of resisting the hardest blows, and of bearing the heaviest burthens; yet they made less resistance to the gentle rays of the sun, and melted before the mild eye of beauty. Few men, as Charles of Sweden, have been like a diamond, equally resisting all assaults: for this prince, uniting all the force of his soul towards the point of military glory, remitted all other regards: in the same manner, as the visual faculty, which proceeds from the same spring; yet when we would collect it into one eye, to make it more strong and distinct, we naturally shut the other. However, if love, as Montaigne says, is a vigilant, lively, and joyous agitation of the soul; this little fally of such a passion in the young earl of Craufurd, was but an early indication of the virtues requisite for such a soldier, and which afterwards so strongly appeared to have been implanted in his very nature: for, like a bright oriental cloud, it was the sign of a glorious day.

THE young earl was educated by a private tutor at home, till he was of a proper age for academical knowledge; when the dutchess of Argyle sent him to the university of Glascow, where he made a proper proficiency in his studies: but his inclination was entirely bent for history; he was more pleased with one

BOOK lesson in Quintus Curtius, than with twenty lectures in philosophy ; and he was more eager to understand a stratagem in the commentaries of Cæsar, than to explain the abstrusest subject of the best logicians : he was in pursuit of active knowledge, not of passive pedantry : he saw the glimmering of truth and nature, nor would he suffer his eye to be misled by the cloud of ignorance and sophistry.

WHILE his lordship was at the university, he gave several remarkable instances of that spirit and bravery, which afterwards distinguished him so eminently in every country of Europe. He was remarked for being of a very active, bold, and resolute disposition ; though his good-nature was equally conspicuous : so that, by generally proving his superiority over his companions in all their quarrels, he became the champion of the university ; his fellow collegians chusing him for their captain in the disputes and encounters which frequently happened between them and the inhabitants of the city.

AMONG other proofs of his bravery and intrepidity, while a collegian at Glascow, are the two following. An officer, belonging to a regiment of dragoons, having some business in Glascow, unfortunately insulted one of the collegians ; who, knowing the alacrity of the young earl of Craufurd to revenge what the collegiate youths generally consider the public cause of their university, immediately applied to his lordship to redress the affront : whereupon his lordship ran directly to the market-place, where the officer was walking with another gentleman ;

gentleman; he upbraided him with the insult he had offered CHAP. I.
to his fellow collegian, and insisted that the officer should give
him a satisfactory reason for his insolent behaviour. But the
officer disregarded his application, and seemed to hold his me-
naces in contempt; which so exasperated the young earl, that
he rushed upon the officer and compelled him to an athletic
engagement; in which the young hero was so expert and vi-
gorous, as speedily to defeat his antagonist; beating him to
such a violent degree, in the public view of the citizens,
that he was obliged to be carried to his lodgings, where he was
so much confounded with shame, that he took the first oppor-
tunity of privately departing from the city.

It has been observed, that a boy who forms parties, and
makes himself popular in a school or college, would act the
same part with an equal ease in a senate, or a privy council;
and when young Cassius struck the son of Sylla for his am-
bitious speech, the action of the school-boy, like an early
blossom, shewed what a noble fruit was to be expected from
the man. "Mr. Osburn, says the Spectator, speaking like a
man versed in the ways of the world, affirms, that the well
laying, and carrying on, of a design to rob an orchard, trains
up a youth insensibly to caution, secrecy, and circumspection,
and fits him for matters of greater importance:" which seems
to be verified in the earl of Craufurd, who was much addicted
to this kind of scholastic diversion. One day, in particular,
his lordship had formed a party to make an enterprize on a
garden belonging to Mr. Campbell of Carrick, near Glasgow,
who

BOOK who had a fine remarkable dog to guard his inclosures, over
II. which the old gentleman was so extremely watchful himself, as
to gain the name of Cerberus among the collegians. The
young adventurers accordingly set out on their expedition; his
lordship being provided with a gun: but, in scaling the wall,
one of his companions unfortunately falling into a snare usually
laid for such sort of game, cried out for assistance; which
alarmed the dog, who came running open-mouthed, and with
great ferocity, towards the invaders; all of whom immediately
made their escape, except the young earl and his companion in
the snare: while the dog made directly at his lordship, who,
in an undaunted manner, waited his approach, with his gun
levelled; and, when the dog rose to fly at him, his lordship
shot him dead with a brace of balls. The dislosion of the
gun alarmed the old gentleman, who came hastily into the
garden with his fowling-piece; where he found his lordship
recharging his gun, his companion in the snare, and the dog
dead; which so enraged Mr. Campbell, that he levelled his
piece at his lordship, and passionately swore he would shoot
him: but the young earl, having charged his gun again, like-
wise levelled it at Mr. Campbell, and as vehemently swore that
he would shoot him, if he did not instantly call for assistance
to release his comrade out of the snare. The old gentleman,
amazed at such an extraordinary instance of resolution in a
youth, began to be afraid his lordship would be as good as his
word, and accosted him more civilly than at first: upon which
a parley ensued, and Mr. Campbell called out his son, who
immediately knew his lordship, and acquainted his father of his
antagonist;

antagonist; so that the old gentleman readily became reconciled, and the young prisoner was released from the snare. CHAP. I.
After which, Mr. Campbell, who had been intimately acquainted with his lordship's father, and extremely well pleased with this sign of bravery in the son, invited him and his companion to dinner, where he not only treated them in a very kind and hospitable manner, but, as the young gentleman was hurt by the snare, he sent them home in a chaise. This adventure was the foundation of an intimate friendship between the young earl of Craufurd and young Mr. Campbell; which subsisted till the death of the latter, who was unfortunately killed at the battle of Fontenoy, at the head of his company of Highlanders.

PLUTARCH observes of Alcibiades, that his most prevailing passion was his ambition and desire to be esteemed the first; which appeared particularly when he was a boy, and playing cockal in the street, at which time a loaded cart came that way, while it was his turn to throw: at first he required the driver to stay, because he was to cast in the way over which the cart was to pass: but the rude fellow not hearkening to him, and still driving on, the rest of the boys divided and gave way: however, Alcibiades threw himself on his face before the cart, and, stretching himself out, bid the carter drive on if he would; which so startled the man, that he put back his horses. This action of Alcibiades is somewhat similar to that of the earl of Craufurd with Mr. Campbell: but the one was active, the other only passive: though this difference might

BOOK might have been occasioned by the difference of age ; for had
II. Alcibiades been grown up, it is highly probable he would
have seized the carter by the throat, rather than lay himself at
his mercy. Indeed, there seems to have been a great similarity
between Alcibiades and the earl of Craufurd, as to their
bravery of spirit ; for when the latter tost a French nobleman
into the pond, as will be after mentioned, it was like the box
on the ear which Alcibiades gave to Hipponicus, whose birth
and wealth made him a person of great power and esteem
among the Athenians : but, as to their private qualities, there
was a great disparity ; for the vanity and luxury of Alcibiades
are no ways comparable to the modesty and temperance of the
earl of Craufurd.

HIS lordship having acquired a sufficient fund of academical knowledge, and being grown to an age of virility, he began to despise the sedentary state of a collegiate life, and to wish for a scene of activity : a military genius evidently began to display itself ; glory was his aim ; and his heart was so much inflamed with the love of martial exploits, that his noble spirit could no longer bear a confinement in the bounds of classic inactivity. In him were concentrated the honours of two illustrious families : many of his ancestors had eminently signalized their valour both in foreign and domestic wars : his lordship seemed to be their proper representative : as he was born a foldier, he was determined to be one ; therefore, his friends concluded to cherish his natural disposition, and for that purpose to send him to the academy at Paris, to initiate him
in

in the military science. Accordingly, his lordship was re-
moved from the university to Edinburgh; from thence he
returned home to the dutchess of Argyle, where he continued
under the tuition of a private preceptor till he was about
twenty years of age, when it was necessary for him to make
his appearance in the military academy.

CHAP.

I.

BUT as his lordship, to use his own expression, was, at this time, wild as a goat on the highlands; his friends thought proper to send him up to London, to make some little continuance there, for the improvement of his address; where, on his arrival, he was introduced to some of his father's friends, who gave him a kind reception. As he was naturally of a very docile and tractable disposition, he soon rubbed off the rust he had gathered under the collegiate and his private education: he became familiar with the fashions of the age, was polite in behaviour, elegant in dress, and so remarkable for his many amiable qualities, that every ray of the fine gentleman seemed concentrated in his lordship.

AFTER partaking a little of the pleasures of London, his lordship, in the year 1721, set out for Paris, where he was entered at the academy of Vandeuil, and continued there two years; during which time he made such a considerable progress in his exercises, as to be the admiration of his fellow academicians, and to surpass those who had been there two or three years before him. Among his contemporaries at the academy were the duke de Biron; the marquise de la Chetardie, de

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Chabrilant,

BOOK Chabrilant, de Pleffibellier, de Rofignac, de Canchie, de
II. Spioche, de Pufauge, de Fourbain, and de Montaneigre; the
counts Rutowski, de Gaubriant, de Netemcourt, de Brillon,
de Laval, St. Andres, and several other noblemen of different
nations; most of whom, as well as his lordship, were
afterwards honoured with considerable military employments,
in their respective countries; and with whom his lordship con-
tracted the most intimate friendship: but his lordship made
such a prodigious proficiency in his lessons, of all kinds, that
he had few competitors; so that, through all exercises, he
was generally esteemed the most active, bold, and expert
academician of his time. For skill in horsemanship, dexterity
in fencing, and elegance in dancing, he was exceeded by none:
therefore, being a compleat academist, and an accomplished
young gentleman, his friends thought proper to recal him to
England for the advancement of his fortune.

HIS lordship, having quitted the academy in 1723, re-
solved to partake awhile of the pleasures which the city of Pa-
ris afforded; being, at that time, more extraordinary on account
of the festivities held for their young monarch, who had been
crowned at Rheims in the preceeding year, and was now de-
clared major by parliament, though he was only in the
thirteenth year of his age. His majesty had provided a grand
entertainment for his nobility, and the magistracy of Paris, at
Versailles; where the earl of Craufurd was one of the great
multitude of people that resorted to that palace, when he dis-
tinguished his courage by a singular accident, in tossing a
French

French marquis into the pond, as before mentioned. For, the CHAP. ceremony and dinner being over at court, it was so ordered I. that a fish-pond should be drawn in the gardens of Versailles, for the amusement of his majesty, where a great concourse of spectators attended, together with the nobility in their robes. On the approach of his majesty, near the pond, the multitude pressed eagerly forwards to gratify their view, for which the earl of Craufurd was equally anxious with the rest: but he happened to stand by a courtier, who was a marquis in his ceremonial robes; and who, apprehending his lordship stood somewhat to his inconveniency, gave him a disrespectful push, accompanied with an insolent reprimand; which so irritated the young earl, that, conscious of his own quality, and the indignity offered to him, he instantly took up the French marquis in his arms, and violently threw him, robes and all, headlong into the pond, in presence of the king; which created a prodigious laughter among the spectators, and particularly to his majesty, who, on making enquiry into the affair, was informed of the nature of the affront, and that it was a young British nobleman who had so warmly shewn his resentment; whereupon, no farther notice was taken of the affair, either by his majesty, or the poor marquis, whose insolence received so seasonable a damp.

HIS lordship, on his return to Paris, frequented several public places of entertainment and diversion, where he was so particularly distinguished by the French ladies, for his graceful attitude and deportment in dancing, that one of them, of the greatest

BOOK greatest quality, became enamoured with the young earl;

II. whose intrigue with this lady was unfortunately discovered, which had like to have involved him in a scene of difficulty; but he had the address to avoid it, without any blemish to his own character, or subjecting the reputation of the lady to the censure of her acquaintance. After continuing a sufficient time in Paris to have satisfied himself with the amusements of that metropolis, his lordship returned to England, where he was highly carested by his friends, and most of the nobility; especially those of a military turn, who readily discovered all the requisites for a foldier in the young earl of Craufurd, and perceived that he was now one of the compleatest gentlemen of the age.

As his glory was to maintain his dignity, and his title to be ennobled by the sword, his lordship was eager of obtaining some military employment, and, on the twenty-fifth of December 1726, he was honoured with the commission of captain of one of the three additional troops in the royal regiment of north British grey dragoons, then commanded by general Sir James Campbell; of which regiment his lordship had afterwards the honour to be colonel. He was a particular favourite with his general, who bore him almost a paternal affection, that continued to the time of his death, which happened at the battle of Fontenoy, where he commanded a division of twelve squadrons, and wherein he was succeeded by the earl of Craufurd who accompanied him in that command: his lordship was also greatly regarded by the officers, and extremely

extremely beloved by the soldiers: an instance whereof was CHAP.
evident in the raising of these three new additional troops, I.
which each captain was obliged to do; wherein his lordship
was so successful, that he had not only his own company
speedily completed, but had provided a sufficient number of
recruits to complete the two other companies. But these three
additional companies being only designed for a temporary use,
while it was expected the Spaniards would commence hostilities,
against Great-Britain for the re-acquisition of Gibraltar; and as
the differences between the two crowns were adjusted, or so
reputed to have been, by the treaty of Seville; there seemed
to be no farther necessity for these additional troops, which,
in 1730, were accordingly reduced; whereupon the earl of
Craufurd retired to a seat belonging to the dutchess dowager of
Argyle at Campbell-town, a port and parliament town of
Scotland, situate on the east coast of Cantire in the shire of
Argyle; where he continued, with her grace, about eighteen
months; during which time, his studies were the mathematics,
history, and military inventions; his exercises being sailing in
a small Norway boat, and hunting, wherein he took extraor-
dinary delight, following the hounds on foot over the moun-
tains, which were too dangerous and inaccessible for horses.

IN this retirement, his lordship consulted the best ancient
historians who wrote recommendatorily of military virtue: by
the characters represented in their works, he endeavoured to
form his own actions: thereby to awaken his courage, and
fortify his patience; the two principal lessons for a soldier.

Of

BOOK Of all the illustrious men of antiquity, which his lordship had
II. generally in his eye, he seems to have acted most consistently
with the character of Philopæmen: but whether the similitude
of their actions is owing to an imitation of the Grecian by the
Briton; whether it be chance that wrought such a congruity
in their actions; or whether the parity of their souls inspired
them with the same passions, and these passions prompted
them to the same actions, let men of a greater penetration than
myself determine, according to their pleasure. Indeed, there
was this difference between them, in the early part of their
lives; that Philopæmen, though left an orphan, like the earl
of Craufurd, in his juvenile years, yet was educated by Cas-
sander, as Homer says Achilles was by Phænix, who in his in-
fancy moulded him to great and virtuous inclinations: whereas
the young earl of Craufurd was brought up under a woman;
who, though meritorious of every female praise, cannot be
imagined to have reared up the young lord in the same manner
as the Megalopolitan was by Cassander. Besides, Philopæmen
had his principal tuition under Eudemus and Demophanes,
who were scholars in the academic philosophy, and, above all
men of their time, were remarkable for their application
of learning to action and state affairs: whereas the young earl
of Craufurd was educated in a very different manner. Though
the tutors of Philopæmen had freed their country from slavery;
though they had assisted Aratus in driving out the tyrant Nio-
cles from Sycione; and though they had settled tranquility
among the Cyreneans, by instituting salutary laws for their
commonwealth; yet, of all their actions, they held their edu-
cating

cating of Philopæmen in the highest estimation; thinking they CHAP.
had done a general good to Greece, by training him to so I.
much worth. But there is more honour due to the young ~
earl of Craufurd, who, without such assistance, acquired as
great a reputation. Philopæmen was insatiably covetous of
honour; so was the earl of Craufurd: the Grecian was so
strongly addicted to war, that, even from his childhood, he
both studied and practised things belonging to it, taking great
delight in managing of horses and handling of weapons; so
did our young Briton: Philopæmen, it is true, was more
happy in his patrimonial inheritance; but equally unhappy in
the vicissitudes of war: he selected such authors whose admo-
nitions made virtue delectable: in Homer, he attended to
whatever gave an inspiration to courage; but he principally stu-
died the commentaries of Evangelus for marshalling of armies:
he received great satisfaction in perusing the histories of Alex-
ander, still considering to reduce whatever he read into prac-
tice: for he disregarded speculation, and was intently bent to
see, and discourse of, what the nature of places, and their
situations would bear: so that he would be continually raising
his thoughts about the difficulties of steep or broken ground;
what might happen at rivers, ditches, or streights, in march-
ing close or open; in this, or that, particular form of battle:
the truth is, says Plutarch, he was too much addicted to war,
which he passionately loved, as the means to exercise every
virtue; utterly contemning those who were not of a military
disposition, as drones, and useless in the commonwealth: all
which may be justly said of the earl of Craufurd. Philopæ-

BOOK men was reported to be a man, who, in fighting valiantly with
 II. his hands, was not inferior to the youngest; nor to the oldest
 in conduct; for he was reputed to have been one of the best
 foldiers and commanders that came into the field; and this
 may as truly be said of the earl of Craufurd; who seemed to
 be the counterpart of Philopæmen in many actions of his life,
 as well as in his passions. Philopæmen was more fortunate
 and successful in his first attempts; but his death was much
 more unfortunate, as he had not only the mortification to fall
 a prisoner into the hands of the Messenians, but to be poisoned
 by the command of his greatest enemy, the tyrant Dinocrates.
 They were both equally fond of manly exercises, as the best ex-
 citements to valour; of which they had a precedent in Pello-
 pidas; especially in the love of hunting, an exercise wherein
 the heroes of antiquity delighted, as they esteemed it the per-
 fect image of war in every part, and particularly in the discovery
 and knowledge of a country; without which, all enterprizes,
 either of sport in hunting, or earnest in wars, were frivolous
 and ineffectual: therefore Xenophon says, that the expedition
 of Cyrus against the king of Armenia, was nothing but a re-
 petition of such sports as he had been accustomed to in hunt-
 ing.

VIRTUE, though in obscurity, will discover itself by its
 native lustre. His lordship was now incapacitated from
 shining in a public life; but his noble nature would
 soon distinguish itself, and, like a beclouded sun, dart
 forth

forth a ray of splendour, till it could blaze out in its full glory; which is evident from the following incident. CHAP. I.

HIS lordship, in the month of October, 1731, set sail in an open boat, from Campbell-town for the town of Aire, which lies on the opposite side of the Frith of Clyde, where this æstuary is about ten leagues over; being attended by three of his servants, with six horses, and a pack of hounds, in order to be at the hunter's meeting at Aire. They set out with a fair westerly wind, though pretty high, from Campbell-town harbour, and were at sea all night; but the next morning they were in sight of Aire; when the wind still blowing hard, it prevented the steersman from properly managing the helm, who, instead of steering the boat betwixt the poles which direct the entrance into the harbour, run her with such violence on a sand bank, about a mile northwards of the harbour, that she was instantly fastened in the sands, from whence the sailors ineffectually endeavoured to disengage her, by towing her with the small-boat, and exerting all their strength and skill. After perceiving how fruitless were all their attempts, the sailors, who were all in the small boat, told his lordship that all was in vain, and that they were determined to save their lives in the boat, desiring him to come on board them; but adding, that only his lordship should be admitted in; which his lordship refused, unless his attendants were also to accompany him. Upon this refusal, the sailors immediately cleared the small-boat, and made directly off for the shore, leaving his lordship behind with his attendants, who were exposed to the most imminent peril, as the tide came roughly running in, and the boat made

BOOK a great deal of water. In this dangerous situation, his lordship II. seemed to be no ways intimidated, and only solicitous for the security of his attendants, who were all momentarily expecting to be swallowed up by the waves: but his lordship ordered them to get three of the horses out of the boat into the sea; which being executed, he directed each person to take hold of a horse by the halter, giving as much rope as would permit the horses to swim, and keeping them off as well as possible; because the poor animals continually endeavoured to return into the boat. In this melancholly condition, his lordship encouraged his attendants with the hopes of receiving assistance from the port; saying, "please God, we shall escape it one way or other;" and so it providentially happened: for the sailors had landed with the small-boat, and sent off another vessel to convey his lordship into the harbour; which he discovered as she came out, and gave his attendants joy on their approaching safety. But when this vessel was arrived about half way, she returned back to the harbour; which gave his lordship an inexpressible concern, as he imagined that she was unable to keep out at sea by the violence of the wind and waves, and that now his attendants and himself must all perish without the least hopes of any farther assistance: though, even in this horrible scene, he conducted himself in so noble a manner, as to create in his attendants an admiration of his courage: However, all their fears were soon dissipated, and their hopes of safety once more returned: for the sailors, who had been dispatched to their assistance, had broke their oars, and were obliged to put back for others; with which they were immediately

diately supplied, and were now hastily on their way to relieve his lordship ; so that, after great difficulty and labour, they came up to the vessel, and took him with his attendants on board, when his lordship ordered the horses to be let loose, and take their chance in the sea ; while the sailors safely conducted him into the harbour, to the general joy of all the town, where great rejoicings were made on the occasion ; and on the funday following public thanksgivings to the Almighty were offered up in several churches for this happy deliverance from such a tremendous danger. Notwithstanding the concern it is natural to conceive a man must entertain for himself and his friends, while death, in a manner, seems to look them stedfastly in the face, and it may be expected that every wave approaches like the executioner of his power ; yet such was the behaviour of the earl of Craufurd, that the same presence of mind, which he always so nobly exerted at the most dangerous crisis, was as evidently here as at the battle of Rocoux, where he saved his party from falling prisoners into the hands of the French by one of the boldest stratagems that ever was put into execution : for the reason that induced his lordship to heave the horses overboard, was to keep them swimming by the side of the vessel ; so as to have ventured on their backs, and endeavoured to gain the shore by their swimming, if no boat could have come to their assistance : which was a very provident thought ; for the three horses safely swam to shore, while the vessel was staved all to pieces on the bank where she first struck ; though the other horses, and all the hounds, were seasonably got off by other boats before she was entirely destroyed ;

BOOK destroyed; and his lordship, by his own contribution, and a
 II. collection he set on foot among the gentlemen at the hunter's
 meeting, with equal generosity and humanity, gave the Campbell-town sailors a sufficient sum to provide them another vessel, in the room of that which was so unfortunately lost.

AND here it may be remarked, that this intrepidity shewn by the earl of Craufurd, on such an occasion, was no ways inferior to that shewn by Cæsar; while his discretion was greater: for Cæsar, impatient of the delay of his soldiers at Brundisium, now called Brindisi, situated on the eastern shore of Naples, at the bottom of the gulph of Venice; and being then with a few legions in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, on the opposite continent of Epirus, where Pompey had assembled his whole army, he rashly embarked himself in a small frigate of twelve oars, disguised in the habit of a slave, and put to sea, to hasten the departure of his legions; notwithstanding all the coast swarmed with the enemies shipping: but meeting with a contrary wind, which prevented him from getting out of the river Anius, the master commanded the mariners to return ashore: whereupon Cæsar discovered himself, and encouraged him to proceed, by telling him, "he carried Cæsar, and his fortunes." Therefore, the master forgetting all danger, stood out again to sea; but, by the violence of the tempest, and to the great grief of Cæsar, they were obliged to return. This immoderate shew of courage might, in these latter ages, be looked on as inculpable in so great a man as Cæsar, whose name is sufficient to cover the greatest infirmity

infirmity of valorous heat, or enthusiastic bravery : but this CHAP.
action had like to have created a mutiny in his army, as a I.
thing that was a stranger to discretion, however greatly it ma-
nifested courage ; which, in all probability, was the reason why
Cæsar omitted to give it any mention in his commentaries ;
though it has been observed by Plutarch, Valerius Maximus,
Appian, Suetonius, and Lucan ; whose authorities are not to
be rejected. This boldness in Cæsar, was only the product of
ambition and impatience ; in the earl of Craufurd, it was the
effect of honour and humanity : the voyage from Greece to
Brundisium, across the mouth of the Adriatic, was full twenty
leagues, and the passage as dangerous there as at the Frith of
Clyde ; which Cæsar attempted with the hopes of causing the
destruction of thousands of his fellow citizens ; but the earl of
Craufurd exposed himself to a danger he might have avoided,
for the preservation of three of his domestics. Perhaps, it may
be objected, that the character of Cæsar has expanded itself to
so great a magnitude, as to suffer no comparison between him
and the earl of Craufurd : but the man who considers the
well doing of one thing, as well as the illustrious way of per-
forming another, must be of a different opinion : the one, like a
stone thrown into shallow water, will spread its circle to a wide
extent ; the other, like the same stone thrown into the sea, makes
but a little appearance on the surface of the waves. Here it is ap-
parent, that the courage of the Briton arose from a nobler source
than that of the Roman ; therefore, it was consequently the more
excellent : and whoever examines narrowly into the actions of great
commanders, shall frequently find them to be rivalled by their
officers.

BOOK officers of less distinction: thus many private actions of the earl H. of Craufurd, are equal to many public ones observed in Cæsar; the man who led the brigade of horse guards at Dettingen, who conducted the retreat at Fontenoy, and who protected the whole army at Rocoux, obtained more glory in saving the lives of his countrymen, than Cæsar did in defeating Ariovistus, who had his two wives and a daughter murdered in the battle; or when he destroyed 60,000 of the Nervii, and almost exterminated the whole name and nation; or when he surprized and destroyed 430,000 Germans: for what were the victories of the latter, but the steps that exalted the conqueror to the throne of tyranny? what were the actions of the former, but the truly laudable paths of heroic virtue?

WHILE the earl of Craufurd continued at Campbell-town, another affair happened, which gave him an opportunity of exerting his courage. His lordship being intimately acquainted with the captain of a sloop of war, stationed on the western coast of Scotland for the prevention of smuggling; the captain invited his lordship aboard, to take a little pleasure in cruizing at sea. While they were intent on steering their course towards the coast of Londonderry on the north part of Ireland, a south-west wind arose, and blew so hard, as to oblige them to put in at the isle of Bute, which lies beyond the isle of Arran, at the north end of the Frith of Clyde. They landed near Rothsay, where they were informed, by the inhabitants, that, a few hours before, a pirate had been on the Bute coast, who had seized one of their boats loaded with brandy, and sailed with her

her towards the coast of Ireland. Upon this intelligence, his CHAP.
lordship and the captain agreed to return immediately on board, I.
and to go in pursuit of the suspected pirate; in which they
were favoured by the falling of the wind towards the close of
the day: so that they got out to sea, and the next morning
discovered the pretended pirate, which appeared to be a sloop
of force, with the brandy boat at her stern; who refused to
give any account of herself: upon which all the necessary pre-
parations were made on both sides for an engagement; espe-
cially by the sloop where his lordship was aboard, who seemed
highly pleased with the approaching scene of action; appearing
with the captain on deck, each of them having a drawn sword
in one hand, and a pistol in the other; his lordship all the
time encouraging the sailors, crying, "Courage, my brave
lads! he is a coward, and we shall do for him." The suspect-
ed pirate observed the vigilance for engaging on board the
sloop, whose captain was hailing him to bring too, and make
himself known: whereupon the captain of the suspected pirate
came on board the sloop, where he produced his commission;
when it appeared that his vessel was also one of his majesty's
sloops of war stationed on the Irish coast, and that the boat at
his stern was a smuggler, which he had taken on his cruize:
as also that the captain had no powder on board, which was
the reason why he made this sort of a submission in coming
on board the other sloop: for he was returning from Brady
castle in the isle of Arran, where the late duke of Hamilton
was at that time, who, with several gentlemen and ladies, had
been entertained by the captain on board the sloop; on which
occasion

BOOK occasion he had expended all his powder, by firing off his guns
II. at the drinking of several loyal healths, and in saluting his vi-
sitors.

THIS naturally occasions the reflection, that it is incumbent on a foldier to exercise arms in times of tranquility, as well as in those of war; which may be done by two means; the one by action of body, the other by contemplation of mind: the former may be exercised in hunting, hawking, sailing, or other manly pastimes; thereby to be always adapted for enduring labour and difficulty: the latter may be informed by studying history, and the consideration of actions performed by excellent warriors; observing the occasion of their victories, and the causes of their defeats; thereby to learn how to imitate the one, and how to avoid the other: both of which were diligently pursued by the earl of Craufurd, during his residence at Campbell-town; where, even in his retirement, he acquired a reputation worthy of his merit; drawing the attention of mankind upon the most inactive parts of his life.

BUT, as the rays emitted from the sun, will penetrate the thickest gloom; so, as his lordship was born for action, nothing could depress the vivacity of his soul, which was not to be confined, and was now to appear with additional lustre on the theatre of the world. Accordingly, on the 31st of January, 1732, he was honoured with a captain's commission in the queen's own regiment of dragoons, commanded by brigadier William Kerr; and the same year he was elected one of the

the sixteen peers for Scotland, which was the most honorary CHAP.
mark of esteem that his countrymen could confer on the most I.
exalted worth.

AT this election, his lordship had an opportunity of signaling both his courage and discretion: for a particular affair happened, which might have been attended with dreadful consequences, had not his lordship, according to his accustomed humanity, endeavoured to pacify it, and had the good fortune to succeed, as he generally did in every thing he undertook. A journeyman baker, happening to have a dispute in the Cannongate, was secured by a party of soldiers belonging to that guard, and there confined prisoner: but, the alarm being given, several of his fellow tradesmen assembled in a tumultuous manner, who, according to custom, had their numbers augmented by several journeymen of other professions; so that they made a considerable body; all of them being armed, some with cudgels, and others with stones: in which manner they came to the guard-house, and demanded the prisoner from the commanding officer; threatening that, if he refused to deliver him, they were determined to have him by force. The officer behaved with a becoming prudence; representing to them, their unwarrantable way of procedure, and the danger they must incur by insulting the guard: but, his remonstrances being ineffectual, the mob more strenuously persisted in their resolution of having the prisoner released, and began to offer violence: upon which the officer instantly ordered out his guard, and cleared the populace from the guard-room to-

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wards

BOOK wards the city gate : the drums beating, in the mean time ;

II. while the whole body of soldiers were got under arms, with a major at their head. When this tumult happened, the earl of Craufurd was in company with several of the nobility, who were then very numerous at Edinburgh, on account of the election : but as soon as he had intelligence of it, he immediately quitted his company, took some bye-ways to avoid the mob, and speedily arrived at the guard-room, where he found all the soldiers under arms, with the major at their head ; and, after his lordship had consulted a little time with the commanding officer, the whole body of soldiers began to march towards the city gate, where the mob had retired, and formed themselves into a numerous body. As the soldiers were approaching with his lordship and the major at their head, the mob began to throw stones among them ; some of which struck both his lordship and the major, who were now advanced near enough to be heard by the rioters, whom his lordship addressed with an audible voice, representing to them the bad consequences of their behaviour ; desiring them to be pacified ; and that they might depend on his word, the prisoner should be set at liberty the next day. The mob attended to what he said, and, readily knowing him, cried “ Huzza ! it’s the earl of Craufurd ; he will certainly see justice done to us.” Upon which the throwing of stones ceased ; when his lordship coming up close to the ringleaders, and after exhorting them to disperse themselves in peace, they so speedily obeyed him, that in a short time there were none of them to be seen together. Whereupon the soldiers returned to their quarters ;
and

and the next day the prisoner was discharged. A memorable in-stance, that a prudent and well-respected man, can sooner ingratiate himself into the affections of a multitude, by his calmness and popularity; than others by the sword, or any desperate punishment: so true it is, that, in time of sudden mutiny, conspiracy, and offence of people, the wisest resolution is not to oppose force to present fury; but rather to give space for the bad to amend, and the good to repent: for seditions prevail on the sudden; but good council gathers force by leisure. This may be illustrated by several examples drawn from antiquity, particularly from the life of Caius Marcius Coriolanus, when the Plebeians of Rome, in a tumultuous manner, quitted the city, on account of the extortions and oppressions of the public usurers and patricians: upon which, the chief magistrates, in consulting of what course was proper to be taken, were of different opinions: some thinking it most advisable to comply a little, and yield somewhat in favour of the populace; but Marcius was particularly against this proposal; alledging, that he looked upon this disorderly proceeding, as an essay and rudiment of popular insolence, and their hardness to affront and defy the established laws; therefore, that it would become the wisdom of the government to stop them in their first career, and stifle those unruly heats that were flaming into a combustion: but this was opposed by Menenius Agrippa, who, by a quite contrary proceeding, pacified and reconciled the multitude; which gave the first occasion to the rise of the Roman tribunes, as patrons for the people, against consular power, and senatorial insolence.

BOOK

II.

His lordship, having taken his seat in parliament, began to be highly respected; but all his thoughts naturally tended to the acquiring of a military reputation: so that, on the 18th of February 1734, he obtained the commission of captain lieutenant in the regiment of foot guards, commanded by general Willes; and, on the 1st of October following, he was honoured with the command of a company, with rank as a lieutenant-colonel, in the regiment of foot guards, commanded by the earl of Dunmore: therefore, being now invested with domestic honours, his heart was all on blaze to give them a greater lustre by some additional trophies to be acquired by the exertion of his martial genius abroad.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

An account of the rise of the war between the emperor and France in 1733, to the campaign on the Rhine in 1735, where the earl of Craufurd served as a volunteer under prince Eugene and count Seckendorf: the action at Clauffen; and the end of the war.

WHERE will the wild flame of ambition aspire? when CHAP. II.
will it be extinguished? and how must its devastation
have an end? France, brooding over her schemes of
universal monarchy, ever since the reign of Lewis xi. had been
extending her territories, and increasing her power, so as to
become the common enemy to the liberties of Europe: but,
the house of Austria being her most formidable opponent, she
had taken every opportunity of suppressing the dignity of that
illustrious family. Francis i. upon the death of the emperor
Maximilian, in the year 1519, even carried it so far, as to
exert his utmost endeavours to obtain the imperial dignity, in
opposition to the archduke Charles: Henry iv. Lewis xiii. and
his successor Lewis xiv. all of them diligently pursued the plan
of Lewis xi. which was equally attended to by the ministers of
Lewis xv.

BOOK

II.

THE court of Vienna always esteemed the British nation as its natural ally against the arbitrary views of France; upon which principle the house of Austria has been generally assisted by the court of London: but sir Robert Walpole, unhappily for his country, advanced a quite opposite system of politics; whereby the house of Austria was supposed to enjoy a power too exorbitant, which was to be checked by the unnatural confederacy between Great Britain and France. The treaty of Hanover was concluded for this purpose, in the year 1725; which was greatly aggravated by that of Seville, in 1729, whereby a prince of the house of Bourbon was admitted to establish a dominion in Italy, so injurious to the house of Austria, and in the event so prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain. Cardinal Fleury was too politic for the British minister; he had allured him with specious promises, amused him with false hopes, and deceived him with French faith: so that sir Robert Walpole, though much the honestest man of the two, was become a dupe to the sagacious cardinal, who had led him into a labyrinth from whence he never could extricate himself.

THE house of Austria being thus neglected and deserted, by that friend in whom she had reposed the greatest confidence, what else could be expected but that she must immediately feel the resentment of her avowed enemy? France has never been very ceremonial in her quarrels, especially when she had an opportunity of rendering them successful; which was the case, at this time, between Lewis xv. and the emperor Charles vi. who,

who, in regard of all his concessions to the house of Bourbon, CHAP. II.
was only able to procure a guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, II.
whereby the Austrian succession was to pass entire to the female heirs, in default of male issue; though this was afterwards as much disregarded by France, as if no such limitation had ever happened.

THE throne of Poland becoming vacant on the demise of John Sobieski, in 1696; Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony; the prince of Conti; and prince James, the eldest son of the late king; became competitors for that crown, which was conferred upon the elector; notwithstanding one of his opponents was assisted by France, and the other by the Czar of Russia: but the elector was obliged to renounce the protestant religion, to obtain little more than the shadow of royalty, of which he was afterwards deprived for a considerable time, through the interest of Charles the young Swedish monarch, whose territories he had attacked during his minority, and who, in return, had invaded Saxony, entered Poland, defeated Augustus in two battles, got him expelled from the crown, on a charge that he had not observed the Pacta Conventa, and had procured an election in favour of Stanislaus Leczinsky, the young Palatine of Posnania, who ascended the throne; notwithstanding the diet, on the death of Sobieski, had agreed, that they who proposed the election of a native to the throne, should be looked upon as enemies to their country. Augustus, in endeavouring to obtain a foreign crown, was to have been deprived of his hereditary dominions, if he had not concluded the

BOOK the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt with his implacable enemy Charles II. of Sweden, who would be content with nothing less than a renunciation of the Polish crown, in favour of Stanislaus, whom Augustus was obliged to acknowledge the reigning monarch, while he only retained the title of king: though, as a memorable instance of the vicissitudes of regal fortune, Stanislaus afterwards met with the same fate. The battle of Pultowa, in 1708, ruined the king of Sweden, and encouraged Augustus to attempt the regaining a throne, which the necessity of the times had compelled him to renounce: accordingly, he entered Poland, expelled Stanislaus, got his election to be declared void, and re-ascended the throne, of which he kept possession till the year 1733, when he died. Stanislaus had retired into France, the usual asylum of unfortunate princes; where, in 1725, he had the satisfaction of seeing his only daughter, Mary Leczinski, married to Lewis xv. who, on the demise of Augustus, ordered the marquis de Monti, his minister in Poland, to form a party for the restoration of Stanislaus to the throne; in opposition to the young elector of Saxony, who was supported by Russia. The consequence of this was a double election, as had happened before between Augustus and the prince of Conti: so that the French were now disappointed, as they were then; for, the young elector being assisted by a Russian army, Stanislaus was compelled to take shelter in Dantzic, which, after sustaining a violent siege, was obliged to submit; while Stanislaus, with great difficulty, escaped, and returned into France, leaving Augustus iii. in possession of the kingdom, which, by the preliminaries at Vienna, in 1735, between

tween France and the emperor, was absolutely ceded to the successful Saxon; the father-in-law of the French monarch being allowed only the nominal dignity of a king, with the duchies of Lorraine and Bar for his support. CHAP. II.

THE emperor of Germany, by encouraging the young elector of Saxony in his attempt for the crown, furnished a favourable pretext for the French monarch to invade the Austrian dominions; who entered into a league with the kings of Spain and Sardinia, and, in October 1733, the emperor was attacked, both in Italy and upon the Rhine, by the confederate forces, under a pretence that his imperial majesty had formed an alliance with Muscovy for excluding Stanislaus; though the emperor offered no assistance to the Russians in the forcible measures they were resolved to take, nor had he sent one man into Poland for that purpose.

IN this scene of calamity which surrounded the emperor, the Dutch contented themselves with obtaining a neutrality for the Netherlands; while the British ministry refused to engage in it: which is not very surprising; for the Dutch were too intent upon their commercial interest to run into the expences of a war; a piece of œconomy they have always very politically, though at the same time very infamously, observed, with regard to their own private interest: but the court of London was more culpable; because the Dutch denied the emperor any assistance from the first, and Great-Britain even promised the contrary to the last: so that it is true, the Dutch
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BOOK only kept their word with ignominy; but Great-Britain absolutely broke her national faith, at the same time that she broke her word. The reason is evident; the Dutch wanted to accumulate money by trade; the British minister wanted to supply the deficiency of the exchequer by taxes: the same views answered the ends of both nations; therefore a time of tranquility was to them a time of festivity; it was the means of establishing the interest of the one, and the security of the other.

HIS imperial majesty lost Fort Kehl and Philippsburgh on the Rhine: but the greatest fatality to the Austrian interest happened in Italy, where the confederates reduced the Milanese, Naples, and Sicily. The British ministry could not be exculpated for this pacific indolence in neglecting their old ally, whom, by the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, they were obliged to assist: indeed, they seemed only to aim at momentary expedients, calculated for a day, or a particular purpose; such as appeasing the clamours of their fellow subjects for a season, or gaining power, or some favourite point in parliament, where these matters were discussed, and where the earl of Craufurd had an opportunity of understanding the weakness of those ministerial measures; as also to perceive the necessity there always is for Great-Britain to interest herself in the wars of the continent, rather than tamely to sit by, and shamefully behold the house of Austria debilitated, and trampled upon, by France, or any other rapacious invader. His lordship considered the breach of our fiducial engagements: national honour appeared to him a jewel that should be kept unfulfilled:

unfullied : he reflected on the justice of his imperial majesty's cause ; he found him a prey to insolent oppressors ; and, as prince Eugene was then commander of the imperial forces, he took the resolution of repairing to so illustrious a hero, of fighting under his banner, and of improving his military genius by the example of so glorious a leader.

CHAP.
II.

THE emperor was apprehensive that France was endeavouring to irritate the Ottoman Porte to seize this opportunity, and attack the Austrian dominions on the confines of Turkey : it is very probable such a thing was intended ; but it was prevented by the interest of the British and Dutch ministers at Constantinople. However, his imperial majesty acquainted the ministers of the maritime powers, that the aims of France were levelled at the entire destruction of the house of Austria ; which was a design wholly inconsistent with the balance of power in Europe, and the solemn engagements of several powers : France left no stone unturned to obtain her ends : she practised equally with the Pope, the Turk, the Czarina, and several protestant princes ; her art being so subtil, that her protestations of moderation of friendship were not unregarded in England and in Holland, while the total ruin of the equilibrium of power was her apparent intention, and the fatal consequences even to those very states, not unknown, or undreaded. In which circumstances his imperial majesty undertook the campaign of 1735, where the earl of Craufurd acted as a volunteer.

Book

II.

His lordship, having obtained the royal permission, set out for Germany, accompanied with four servants, and seven horses; which set sail from Gravesend towards the latter end of May, with a design for Ostend: but, meeting with stormy weather, and contrary winds, his lordship was obliged to land at Dunkirk, after a passage of six days, in attempting to reach the intended port. His lordship gave private orders to have every thing in readiness to set out early the next morning for Newport, the first imperial fortress in the Netherlands: because his lordship was of opinion, that if the French governor should get intelligence of his intention to join the imperial army, he would cause the horses to be arrested, and prevented from proceeding any further. This precaution gave his lordship an opportunity of safely conducting his retinue to Newport, where he continued four days to refresh his horses: he then departed for Brussels; and from thence he took post-horses for the imperial army commanded by prince Eugene, which consisted of sixty thousand men, then encamped at Bruschal, near Heidelberg on the Rhine. As his lordship was one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, and bore the rank of a lieutenant colonel, he was received by prince Eugene with the highest marks of distinction and regard; who, in this young nobleman, could discover all the great qualities of a truly martial soul; as such he cherished him; honouring him with his friendship, and improving his genius with those instructions which a long and glorious series of military experience had so well enabled this illustrious prince to

to instil into so docile and tractable a pupil. Indeed, there CHAP. II.
was a strong similarity between the fortunes of prince Eugene and the earl of Craufurd: his highness lost his father when he was but ten years of age; he was educated under a woman, in his infancy; he had received a pension from Lewis xiv. as the earl had from queen Anne; military virtue was his exalted aim; he professed himself a soldier of fortune; his sword had been his principal dependance; and he entered early into the imperial service, where he signalized himself against the Turks: besides, they had both devoted themselves to the exercise of arms in their youth; they had confirmed their strength of body, as well as improved their disposition of mind; though the earl of Craufurd was the more strong and vigorous of the two; having a constitution properly adapted for the toils of war: prince Eugene was surpassed by none of his contemporaries in the arts of riding and fencing; and the earl of Craufurd was equalled by few. No wonder then, that souls of so congenial a stamp, should so eagerly contract a friendship unknown to those of meaner views; for great minds, like eagles, fly only to the loftiest rocks; or, rushing to each other, blend together like incorporating rays of light. The brave seek alliance of the brave; while abject wretches dare hardly make acquaintance with themselves. True greatness, has the least formality; for ceremony has no affinity to friendship: therefore, the earl of Craufurd was immediately admitted as the bosom friend of this excellent commander; who had him continually at his table, and made the same prediction of the young earl, as Lewis xiv. had done of the duke of Marlborough.

MARSHAL

BOOK

II.

MARSHAL Coigni, who commanded the French army, acted on the defensive; besides, negotiations for peace were carrying on at Vienna: whereby the earl of Craufurd had little opportunity of signalizing his courage; though he had the best instructions for the security and œconomy of a camp: but, as fire must necessarily ascend, the activity of the young earl could not be restrained; and he was soon gratified with a scene of business. The Czarina, after the reduction of Dantzic, and the flight of Stanislaus, had little employment for her troops in Poland: so that she granted the emperor a reinforcement of thirty thousand Russians, who were now on their march to join the imperial forces on the Rhine; which occasioned prince Eugene to detach the prince of Hohenzollern, with three regiments of cuirassiers, and one of dragoons, to meet the Russians, and conduct them to the imperial army, through the Bavarian territories, where the elector had formed an encampment, and was suspected to have intentions of intercepting the march of these auxiliaries. As there was no appearance of any thing to be undertaken by the main army, and a probability of some contentions in Bavaria, the earl of Craufurd obtained permission from prince Eugene to accompany prince Hohenzollern upon this command, who was likewise attended by the generals de Chaveray, St. Ignon, and Khevenhuller. They passed through the Bavarian dominions without any molestation, and arrived at Pilsen in Bohemia, where the Russian troops were assembled under the command of veldt-marshal Lascey, assisted by the generals Keith and Biron,

Biron, who passed their forces in review before the Imperialists, and afterwards unmolestedly, continued their rout towards the Rhine, where they were joined by prince Eugene. The earl of Craufurd was extremely delighted with the Russian discipline, and he was highly esteemed by all their general officers, particularly by the veldt-marshal and general Keith; the former being an Irishman, and the latter a Scotchman: so that his lordship, by the intimacy he had contracted with these officers, began to wish for a scene of action in Russia, where he afterwards went, and where his name was very familiar before he made his appearance in that remote country.

THE imperial forces, on this augmentation by the Russian auxiliaries, had a great superiority over the French, who had the same in Italy, and therefore acted very cautiously in Germany: which occasioned prince Eugene to detach general Seckendorf, with 30,000 men, to attempt the passage of the Moselle, and the deliverance of the electorate of Treves, from a body of French who were assembled there; while the prince observed marshal de Coigni. Prince Ferdinand, and prince Waldeck, were the two principal commanders under general Seckendorf; the former commanding the cavalry, and the latter the infantry: with these two young princes the earl of Craufurd was very intimate, and he was also the particular favourite of general Diemar, who likewise accompanied general Seckendorf in this command; which determined the earl of Craufurd to attend the expedition; and after taking leave of prince Eugene, who parted with him in a very affectionate manner,

BOOK manner, his lordship proceeded to join the forces under general Seckendorf, in which he was accompanied by his particular friend the young count Nassau de Auverquerque, son of count Maurice marshal of the Dutch forces; as also by the lord viscount Primrose, Mr. Stanhope, and captain Dalrymple, all British volunteers.

It was generally supposed, that count Seckendorf intended to penetrate into the Netherlands; which caused a great consternation at the Hague, as well as in the French army: because, the former were apprehensive that a war in the Low-countries would cause a stagnation of trade there; and the latter were afraid that the imperialists would bring the scene of action into the bowels of France. Count Seckendorf, on the 10th of October, arrived at Bern-Cassel, about four marches from Triers, without any opposition from the French, part of whose army followed him, taking fatiguing marches, under the command of count Belleisle. On the 11th, the imperial general crossed the Moselle, upon three bridges; leaving a garrison in Traerbach, to cover his retreat; and several motions happened between both armies till the 17th, when some imperial hussars were sent out to reconnoitre; both armies being then situated in the neighbourhood of Claussen, about eight miles from Bern-Cassel. This detachment set out in the afternoon, accompanied by the earl of Craufurd, count Nassau, lord Primrose, and some other volunteers; who unfortunately dropt upon a post where the enemy had treble their number, and began immediately to fire upon the hussars. His lordship behaved

behaved with surprising intrepidity upon this occasion: it was CHAP. I.
the first engagement he had seen; and, though the balls came II.
whistling about him, he was no ways apprehensive of danger,
till he saw the hussars hastily retreating, and his poor gallant
friend, count Nassau, expiring on the ground; on which, his
lordship was obliged to retire among the rest. In this un-
happy affair lord Primrose was wounded in the cheek, by a
musket ball, as he stood close by the earl of Craufurd; which
broke the jaw bone, and came out a little under the eye;
but lord Primrose recovered. It was far otherwise with count
Nassau, who had not been apprized by the earl of Craufurd of
his intention to go upon this party to reconnoitre; so that
finding his lordship gone, he immediately followed him, and
came full galloping into the field, like a generous courser
straining at the goal of glory; where he was unhappily shot
by a musket ball in the forehead, at a few yards distance from
the earl of Craufurd; which occasioned him to fall from his
horse, when he pitched upon his head, where he lay upon the
ploughed land with his tongue out, motionless, and insensible:
in this condition, he must have soon expired, if he had not
been seasonably assisted by the earl of Craufurd's principal do-
mestic, who turned him upon his back, called for assistance,
and brought him off; which the French never attempted to
prevent, though they were not above sixty yards distant.

THE count was set on horseback, before his groom, in
which manner he was conducted off the field: when he came
a little to himself, with a broken voice, he asked for his hat,

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and

BOOK and was carried to a little cottage that lay between both armies, II. where his wound was dressed, and, the same evening, the ball extracted. This was a very sensible mortification to the earl of Craufurd: one of his dearest companions, of a parentage equally illustrious as his own, blest with the same advantages of youth, happy in the same amiable accomplishments, and animated with the same love of glory, lay bleeding to death before his eyes; a death from which he himself had providentially escaped. The spectacle was terrible, the reflection was melancholly: but how nobly did the unfortunate count behave to the earl of Craufurd, when he visited him the next morning, and said, "my dear count, how unhappy am I by this misfortune! but how do you find yourself?" to which he replied, "just as a man that has a ball in his head". The same afternoon happened the action at Clauffen, and the cottage where count Nassau lay, was situated on a little eminence which overlooked the field of action; so that, hearing the engagement, he ordered his valet de chambre to observe what past through the windows, and give him a particular account of it; though his wound was so painful as to occasion his death on the following day. Was not this a most noble and exemplary instance of a truly heroic soul? he was descended of an illustrious race of warriors; had he lived, he would certainly have acquired a reputation equal to any of his ancestors; but, as he was so untimely taken away, it shews us that the fairest flower hangs upon a slender stem. Though it also serves to verify the remark of an eminent man, "that many

many brave soldiers have perished in the first conflict, who might have been Alexanders had they survived".

CHAP.
II.

THE action of Claussen was occasioned by the Imperialists having taken possession of an abbey of that name, which marshal Coigni was desirous of retaking; having sent his son, with general Nangis, and 4000 grenadiers, for this purpose. The French attacked the left wing of the Imperialists, commanded by prince Waldeck, who was accompanied by his friend the earl of Craufurd; but, as they were galloping about on the reconnoitre, his lordship observed a little wood to the left, which might give an opportunity to the enemy to fall in the flank of the Imperialists: his lordship gave immediate intelligence of this discovery to the prince, who gave directions for a regiment of foot to occupy that ground, and committed the execution of this order to the care of the earl of Craufurd, desiring him to conduct the regiment to its destined post; which his lordship expeditiously performed, and returned to the prince, whom he closely attended during the whole action; which was pretty hot, but of short continuance, and productive of no other material circumstance than obliging the French to repass the Moselle, and retire to Pfaltz, a little fortified town of which they had taken possession, and from which the Imperialists were determined to dispel them. Accordingly, it was agreed to storm the town by night; for which purpose a proper number of men was selected, among whom was count Rutowski, his lordship's fellow academician at Paris, who commanded a body of Saxon auxiliaries, and

BOOK was happy in being accompanied by his lordship in this attack;

II. as they had now an opportunity of reducing into practice what they had formerly learnt in theory: but they were disappointed; for the French thought proper to abandon the town, and retire under the cannon of Triers; where all military operations were suspended by those of the cabinet, and a cessation of arms was soon followed by the preliminaries of peace.

His imperial majesty being stript of most of his Italian dominions, and France having been defeated in all her views for the re-establishment of Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, occasioned both parties to entertain pacific opinions; to which the emperor was the more inclinable, as he found himself unsupported by the maritime powers, and because he had been long desirous of marrying his eldest daughter to the duke of Lorraine, thereby to settle the succession of his hereditary estates: Spain was not averse to peace, though not without obtaining her end: but the king of Sardinia, being not fully satisfied in his pretensions, was not easily brought to a tranquil disposition: however, France took care to be the most considerable gainer. Accordingly, the preliminary articles were signed on the 3d of October, 1735, at Vienna, between prince Eugene, and the sieur de Beaume; the former having resigned his command to the duke of Wirtemberg; and the latter having been sent by cardinal de Fleury, for this purpose: whereby the duke of Lorraine relinquished the duchies of Lorraine and Bar to king Stanislaus, and after his death to the crown of France, in exchange for the eventual succession to the

the grand duchy of Tuscany: Augustus was acknowledged CHAP. II.
king of Poland, and left in peaceable possession of that king-
dom: Don Carlos became king of Naples and Sicily: France
guarantied the pragmatic sanction: the emperor had every
thing restored that had been taken from him upon the Rhine;
the Milanese, the Mantuan, the Parmesan, and the Placen-
tine, being also confirmed to him in Italy, except the Nova-
rese and Tortonese, which were ceded to the king of Sardinia.
The execution of these preliminaries terminated the war; but
the general treaty of peace was deferred, even between France
and the Emperor, till the 18th of November 1738; though
Spain and Sardinia did not accede to it till the year 1739; nor
would they have then so readily done it, if Spain had not
been plunged into a war with Great Britain; and if his
Sardinian majesty had not found the necessity of adhering to the
house of Austria against the Bourbon family, which began to
be too formidable in Italy.

WAR produces the most surprising, as well as the most mis-
chievous effects; and how can we be astonished at the revolu-
tions among the states of antiquity, when we take the above-
mentioned treaties into consideration? Treaties whereby more
than magical operations were performed, more than miracles
produced. John Gaston, the last of the male line of the house
of Medicis, having no heir, his dominions were transferred to
another prince, without his own concurrence: while, by
these whimsical reverses of fortune, the house of Lorraine was
transplanted from a duchy, which had remained entirely in that
family

BOOK family for near 700 years, to one that had been almost as long
II. in another. The poor Lorrainers were obliged to take up with
a sovereign who had been expelled from another country: While the Sicilians and Neapolitans were compelled to renounce their fidelity to their lawful monarch, and to receive his enemy in his room. France guaranteed the pragmatic sanction, with no other intention than to break it; and the king of Spain formally renounced all pretensions to the duchies of Parma and Placentia, only to take the most favourable opportunity of possessing them: While Great Britain, to crown the whole solemnity of the farce, conducted Don Carlos to his own dominions with a magnificent fleet; which, had it been properly employed, should have prevented this unnatural and impolitic introduction of a Bourbon prince into such a noble seat of the Austrian patrimony: For as Great Britain and the States-General had guaranteed the pragmatic sanction, and thereby engaged to defend the indivisibility of the Austrian inheritance, they certainly ought to have entered into the war as auxiliaries to the emperor, and to have protected his territories, as the best means of supporting an equilibrium of power among the European states: for though it may be compatible with the views of an arbitrary monarch, grasping at universal dominion, to break through the most solemn engagements; and, however derogatory to real honour, to renounce the most sacred obligations, in pursuit of his interest, and the gratification of his ambition; yet it is far otherwise with commercial nations, whose glory is founded in fidelity, and whose reputation is maintained by probity: which sentiments were afterwards
adopted

adopted in Great Britain, when a far better, and a wiser minister, took up the reins of the British government, that, through such unpardonable negligence, were taken out of those hands which had been so unjustly set to the treaties of Hanover and Seville. CHAP. II.

THE cessation of arms, in the year 1735, occasioned the earl of Craufurd to quit the imperial army, and think of returning to England, where his equipage was immediately sent, which now consisted of a more numerous train, as his lordship had purchased several beautiful horses in Germany. But his lordship made a tour to Luxembourg, Namur, and other fortresses in the Netherlands, which he narrowly inspected, and drew some curious plans of the principal fortifications; as this indeed was his continual practice at all the garrisons wherever he entered. Having indulged his curiosity, he waited on the prince of Orange at his court, where he was received with peculiar marks of distinction; after which he returned to England, and continued for some time in a state of inactivity; his greatest amusement being in revising his journal of the campaign, making observations of what he had seen, and in embellishing the plans of the marches and encampments of which he had been a spectator.

C H A P. III.

The earl of Craufurd further characterized. The rise of the war between the Russians and the Turks, in 1736, wherein the Imperialists were auxiliaries to the former: the state of those empires, with a short account of the campaigns in Tartary and Hungary in the years 1736 and 1737.

BOOK II. **T**HE earl of Craufurd, on his return to England, met with a most gracious reception from his royal master; who, as he had been early initiated in the toils of war, had a great veneration for the character of a soldier, and, without doubt, was highly pleased at the martial disposition of this young nobleman, who had been hunting in the fields of glory, while others were rioting in the lap of luxury. He was now looked upon as one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age: he was not tall, but graceful; strong and active; a fine shooter, a masterly fencer, an expert rider, and an elegant dancer. His activity was seen in every thing he performed, and his strength was evident from the following circumstance. While his lordship was at Edinburgh, he was one day passing by a blacksmith's shop, who was farrier to his lordship, and was of such a prodigious lusty size,

size, as to be reputed the strongest man in that part of Scotland, where perhaps more strength is to be found collected in a single person, than in any other part of the world: the blacksmith was at work with a large heavy hammer, which attracted the curiosity of his lordship, who went into the shop, took the hammer out of the blacksmith's hands, and, after poising it for some time, told him it was very heavy; "yes, my lord, says the blacksmith, I fancy it is too heavy for your lordship to handle;" who, without replying, lifted it up in one hand, held it out at arm's length, and afterwards swang it several times round his head: then, smiling at the blacksmith, "come, says he, let me see how much better you can do this." The blacksmith stood astonished, and replied, "indeed, my lord, I was never so much surpris'd before; for your lordship has shewn more strength than ever I was master of in my life." This is only mentioned to shew that his lordship was properly formed for a soldier by strength, whose stature, it is true, ought to be observed. For though Marius held the longest bodies in greatest estimation; and notwithstanding Pyrrhus gave the preference to large and well proportioned men: yet Vegetius, in his choice, thinks strength more commendable than stature; and the late duke of Marlborough esteemed Cadogan's regiment of dragoons, which was compos'd entirely of middle-sized men, as the flower of his army.

His dexterity in shooting was afterwards conspicuous in Germany, when he won the prize at Baden. As he was a most excellent horseman, so his love for horses was exceeding great;

BOOK great; but he was particularly fond of a fine Spanish horse,
II. which was afterwards shot under him at the battle of Krotzka.
Indeed, horsemanship is absolutely necessary for a soldier; and though infantry is more serviceable than cavalry in an engagement; yet, as a commanding officer generally appears on horseback, it is requisite he should thoroughly understand the exercise of riding: because, as Carneades was used to say, "the children of princes learnt nothing but to manage their horses; for, in all other exercises, every man yielded, and gave them the victory: but a horse, who is neither a flatterer, nor a courtier, will as soon throw the child of a king, as the son of a peasant."

ALEXANDER and Cæsar were both excellent horsemen; the former of whom so much regretted the loss of Bucephalus, that he built a city in India, which he called after his name, dedicating it to the memory of his favourite horse. Cimon was so fond of those horses with which he thrice won the Olympian races, as to have their bodies buried close to his own monument. And the earl of Craufurd always lamented the death of his beautiful and generous Spaniard.

As to fencing, it was his delight; because it continually furnished him with military ideas: but he never exercised his sword in a real private engagement; for he thought duelling the most execrable custom that ever was introduced among society. He had as much personal bravery as any man, and he was fond of shewing it in a glorious manner; that is, in
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the plain open shock of battle ; where he fought for honour, CHAP. III.
and where he declined no manner of danger. As Achilles
was transported with joy at the sight of his new arms, and on
fire to use them ; so was the earl of Craufurd animated with
the appearance of war, and eager to rush into a general en-
gagement : but he found there was something so rash and
barbarous, so impious, and inhuman, in the fashionable and
pernicious practice of determining trivial points of honour by
duelling, that he held it incompatible with true bravery, and
inconsistent with the character of a soldier, whose sword
should be devoted to the honour of his king, and whose
blood should stream only for the service of his country ;
therefore, he held so iniquitous a custom in the highest con-
tempt and abhorrence. However, in the year 1726, his
resentment, upon a very extraordinary occasion, to a young
Scotch nobleman, had like to have involved him in so disho-
nourable an action : for, being in company together at a tavern
in Westminster, his lordship dropt his ring into the glass, and
drank the health of a celebrated lady at court ; upon which
the other young nobleman, who afterwards made a remarkable
figure in Scotland, filled the same glass which the earl of
Craufurd had used, and, in repeating the health, swallowed
the ring ; which his lordship looked upon as a disrespect to
the lady, and an affront to himself ; so that a quarrel ensued,
and they agreed to determine it the next morning in Hyde-
Park : but they were prevented in their design by the interpo-
sition of another Scotch nobleman, who, at this time, is ho-
noured with one of the most considerable posts in the army.

BOOK

II.

WITH regard to dancing, though Domitian excluded several members from the Roman senate for having used this diversion, it has been generally esteemed by all nations; particularly by the Cretans and Spartans, who introduced it in their military exercises, and even went dancing to attack their enemy; much in the same manner as is now used by the Iroquois and other nations of America, who always make their war-dance as a declaration of hostilities. Castor and Pollux, two celebrated heroes, are reputed to have first taught the art of dancing among the Lacedæmonians: and Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, taught the Cretans a new sort of dance, called Pyrricha, or the armed dance, to be used in going to war: which makes it evident that dancing is agreeable to the rough character of a soldier, abstracted from that of the polite gentleman: the earl of Craufurd was not more remarkable for his elegance in dancing, than in his noble way of performing the Highland dance, habited in that dress, and flourishing a naked broad sword to the evolutions of the body; which is somewhat similar to the Pyrrhic kind: he was so celebrated for his performance, that he was requested to dance before his Britannic majesty; which he did at a numerous court, to the great satisfaction of the king and company: he also performed it, at the request of general Linden, before a grand assembly of illustrious persons, at Comorra in Hungary, where he was habited in the dress of that country, which became the dance extremely well; when his lordship gave them infinite pleasure; though the Hungarian soldiers retain the Pyrrhical dance, with
naked

naked swords in their hands, brandishing them, and putting themselves into many terrible postures; advancing, retreating, turning and winding about with great activity, and singing all the while to their own measures. But this was the last time he was ever capable of performing it; being a little before the battle of Krotzka.

SIR Richard Steele says of Sir Paul Methuen, "that those personal virtues which were over-rated by the ordinary world, and too much neglected by wise men, had been applied by Sir Paul with the justest skill and judgment: for that the most graceful address in horsemanship, in the use of the sword, and in dancing, had been employed by him as lower arts, and as they occasionally served to cover, or introduce, the talents of a skilful minister." The same observation may be applied, with the same propriety, to the earl of Craufurd; who directed all these qualifications to their proper end of military virtue, esteeming them as no more than the dress of a soldier; which, like a gaudy garment, can never render deformity graceful.

SENECA affirms, "that a man is but a common, or rather contemptible thing, unless he exalts himself above ordinary courses:" but if this assertion has any affinity with truth, it is more particularly verified in a soldier; whose honour depending upon the superlative degree, must seek out projects beyond all equality; and such were the constant principles of the earl of Craufurd; who, like Flaminius, was covetously ambitious of glory, honour, and danger. With such a disposition of mind,

BOOK mind, and such ability of body, he was impatient of rest :

II. as a sprightly courser panting for the chace, and waiting only for the summoning huntsman, at the sound of whose chearful horn he rears up his chest, he starts in the glorious pursuit, has the game always in view, and has few competitors in his course: so the earl of Craufurd was glowing for the chace of glory.

HIS lordship was sensible that all military knowledge is to be acquired by experience in the field, not by speculation in the closet. Marius, envying the nobility of Rome, told them, that after they were elected to the consular dignity, and placed at the helm of government, they began to learn when they should practice what they had learnt; shewing their insufficiency of knowledge by unseasonably using what was most necessary when properly applied. This commander acquired all his knowledge by experience, and he was desirous of seeing his fellow-citizens imitate his example; which was a commendable lesson: for, since all motion and action proceed from the soul, and cannot well be produced, until the idea thereof is first imprinted in the mind, according to which pattern the outward being, or sensible resemblance, is duly fashioned; how is it possible that any action can be well expressed, when the mind is not directed by knowledge to dispose it in that manner, as is most consistent to the occurrents of such natures, as are necessarily interested both in the means and in the end? therefore, speculative knowledge is inferior to practice: for young men should make their preparations,

rations, and old men enjoy them : which occasioned Philopœ-
men, when he heard Ptolomey extolled for daily hardening
his body to the exercise of arms, to say, “ It is not a com-
mendable matter in a king of his age to exercise arms in such
a manner, when he should really and substantially employ
them :” practice gives boldness and assurance in action, making
men expert in every thing they undertake : for no man can
depend upon such certainty through the theory of knowledge,
as he that has seen his learning verified by practice. Besides,
there are several other accomplishments to be obtained only by
practice, which grace the presence of knowledge, and give
credit to theory : such as learning the utility and advantage of
any particular kind of arms : by frequent familiarity with
dangers, and accidents of terror, to learn to fear nothing but
dishonour ; to make no difference between heat and cold, sum-
mer and winter ; to sleep on the rough rock as on a smooth
bed ; to bear thirst, and endure hunger ; to undergo toil, and
suffer penury ; with many other difficulties which custom ren-
ders easy, and are not attainable but by practice. For it may
be observed, that the human understanding hath no intuitive
faculty to discern perfection, but gradually works out exacti-
tude ; making every morrow the scholar of yesterday, as reason
discovers means of discourse from causes to effects, or from
effects to causes.

THESE considerations, with which his lordship was well
acquainted, added to his natural impatience for action. Cæsar
only followed fame for ambition and power : other great com-
manders

BOOK manders have imitated him : but the earl of Craufurd had his

II. military genius conducted by the noblest views : to learn how to fight in the service of his country, and to be prepared with a fund of military knowledge to oppose the destructive schemes formed by the enemies of Great-Britain for her ruin and subversion, together with that of religion and liberty : nor was he long detained from continuing his pursuit in the paths of glory.

PLATO, Aristotle, and Polybius, have taxed the Spartan legislator with having adapted his laws with a view more to make men valiant, than to make them just : but true bravery is the associate of true honesty. Lycurgus would not allow every man that pleased, to go abroad, and to travel into distant countries ; lest they should bring in foreign manners and customs along with them, or follow the fashions of such as had been spoiled by education, and affect different models of government. His reason was founded on a necessary policy ; which would hold good, at this time, in most of the European countries : for, in the year 1735, the states of Bohemia represented to the emperor, that the practice of the Bohemian nobility and gentry travelling into France, was become an intolerable abuse ; because they not only took away the money of their country to squander away in useless expences ; but that most of them reaped no other fruit of their travels, than a vain attachment to fopperies and frivolous novelties. The same remonstrance might be made in most other countries ; but the earl of Craufurd travelled only for improvement ;

improvement; he returned with none but laudable customs; CHAP. III.
and happy will it be for this nation, when a greater number
of our young nobility shall learn, from the example set by the
earl of Craufurd, how to prove themselves worthy of their
dignity, and how to add honour to their own kingdom by
defending the liberties of others.

NOTWITHSTANDING France had so recently contracted a
peace with the emperor of Germany, she was still desirous of
punishing both the empire and Russia for their opposition
against Stanislaus in Poland, while she was still in pursuit of
the favourite maxim adopted by cardinal Richlieu, in perpe-
tually disturbing the house of Austria. The Ottoman ministry
refused to invade the Austrian dominions, while they were
ravaged by France and her confederates in Italy; but while
France was holding out the olive in one hand for the ratifica-
tion of peace, with the other she liberally opened her purse at
Constantinople for the renewal of war; to which the Turks
were now readily disposed; so that the Austrian eagle was only
to escape from one enemy, to be displumaged by another.

THE Turks, in 1715, broke their truce with the Venetians,
and penetrated into the Morea, in hopes of conquering that
country, and of obtaining something for what they had given
up by the peace of Carlowitz, which was concluded, under
the mediation of the maritime powers, in 1699; whereby the
Turks were dismantled of several places; Russia having
Asoph; the Venetians what they had conquered in the
O Morea

BOOK Morea and Dalmatia; the emperor was established in Hungary; and Kaminieck was given up to Poland. The emperor assisted the Venetians, whereby the Turks drew the war into Hungary; but a peace was concluded at Passarowitz, in 1718; since which time they had remained quiet on the side of Europe. But they were engaged in a long war against Persia, which was not terminated until the month of September 1736, when the treaty of Constantinople was signed, which gave the Turks liberty of acting on the side of Europe, where they were attacked by Russia, and were threatened by the emperor of Germany. But as this occasioned that war wherein the earl of Craufurd greatly signalized himself; and as the same military contentions may soon happen again in that part of the world; when, very probably, some noble British volunteers may pursue the example set by his lordship, it may be necessary, for their instruction, to give some representation of the state of these potent empires, as they stood at the beginning of the war.

THE Turks, who are of Scythian or Tartarian original, were very imperfectly known till the eighth century, when they made an irruption into Georgia, and plundered that country. At this time, they were pagans; but, having seated themselves in Armenia Major, and conquered Persia, they embraced the Mahommedan law; and under the conduct of their emperor Ottoman, who was descended of the Ogyzian family, they laid the foundation of that mighty nation in the thirteenth century, which, from this prince, has ever since been

been stiled the Ottoman empire, from whom the present CHAP. reigning family is descended. These successors of Mahomet III. improved the principles of his sect : by new orders and inventions, cast wholly for conquest and extent of empire, they framed a kingdom, which subdued both the Grecian and Arabian empires, rooting itself in all those vast territories as it continues to this day, with the addition of several other provinces to their dominion, but yet many more to the Mahomedan belief. Amurath, in 1358, conducted his forces into Europe : in 1453, Mahomet ii. took Constantinople by storm, which put an end to the Grecian empire under Constantine Paleologus ; and, in 1461, he reduced the city of Trebifonde, whereby that empire was also ruined under David Commenus. Egypt was invaded by Selim, who, in 1516, subverted the power of the Mamalukes, by defeating the sultan Campson Gauri, and annexing his dominions to the Turkish empire : by which means this empire is become so considerable, that it contains the ancient Chaldaea, now Eyraca Arabic ; Mesopotamia, now Diarbec ; part of Assyria, now Curdistan ; part of Armenia Major, now Turcomania ; with part of Georgia, and Mengrelia ; it also comprehends part of Arabia, Syria, Palestine, and Natolia, or Asia Minor : all which are properly called Asiatic Turkey. It has also Egypt, in Africa ; and Turkey in Europe consists of the Morea, Albania, Epirus, Achaia, Thessaly, Macedonia, the isles of the Archipelago and the Levant, Romania, Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, Ragusa, Walachia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, Budziac, and Oczakow-Tartary ; to which may be added Tartaria Minor, and Crim-Tartary,

BOOK tary, their cham being only a sort of vice-roy to the grand

II. feignior. In such an extent of country there are many millions of inhabitants : but all the lands in the empire being originally in the crown, these were parcelled out by the several emperors, as they acquired the possession of them, among the soldiery, under certain tenures, according to the practice of other princes in most parts of the world ; obliging all their feudatories to keep, and bring into the field, when required, a certain number of men and horses, proportionable to the lands assigned them ; which feudatories are called Timars, or Timariots. Thus the Ottoman princes, by investing the power of the state into the hands of their dependants, secured their authority, and were always provided with a body of troops, in all emergencies, without any expence : so that the dominion of the Turkish emperors being founded in force, they are restrained by no laws or compacts ; their power is unlimited, they esteem the people as well as the country to be their property, and the life and fortune of every man is at their arbitrary disposal.

THE chief principles whereon this fierce government was founded, and exalted to such a height, were originally those of Mahomet ; being to spread religion by the sword ; which, by their sensual paradise and predestination, were great incentives of courage and enterprize. This was confirmed, by a belief infused of divine designation of the Ottoman line, to reign among them for extent of their territories, and propagation of their faith. But the principal was, the institution of
that

that famous order of the Janizaries by the emperor Orcan in CHAP.
1326; being one of the greatest strains of true and deep III.
policy that ever was attempted in any constitution: for this
consisted in the arbitrary choice of such christian children,
throughout their dominions, as were most proper for military
hardships. To these Amurath in 1383, added the institution
of the Spahees, which are the flower of the Turkish cavalry,
as the Janizaries are of the infantry. These are the chief sup-
porters of the Ottoman empire; these were the men who
defeated Sigismund, emperor of Germany, at the battle of
Nicopolis, in 1396, though he thought himself so sure of
victory, that he was heard to say, if the sky fell, the lances
of his cavalry were sufficient to hold it up. However, by
the introduction of native Turks into the body of Janizaries,
and by retrenching the power of that corps, the Ottoman
ardour seems to be depressed; like a strong light, gradually
diminishing away. Their bravery seems to have changed with
their situation; for though they inhabit that soil which has
produced so many warriors among the ancient Grecians, they
have none of their spirit; and by their indolence in the war-
mer region of Asia, they have lost that bravery which incited
them to forsake the inclement sky of Scythia. Their empire,
which appeared like a blazing comet, has been rather dimi-
nishing, than increasing, for more than a century past: indeed,
it was grown to border upon the Persian empire to the east,
upon the Russians to the north, upon the Ethiopians to the
south, and upon Germany to the west: but it was become
like an overgrown body, full of distempers, enfeebled with its

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BOOK own bulk, and sick at the heart, which has frequently burst
 II. into a fever by the sedition of the Janizaries. No civil govern-
 ment can subsist where the military power is superior; a
 popular general, and sometimes a private soldier, by declaring
 against some pretended grievance, will be capable of working
 his brethren up to a mutiny, and of overturning the firmest
 constitution: an instance of the former is evident both in
 Cæsar and Kouli-Kan; and an instance of the latter was seen
 at Constantinople in 1730, when one despicable fellow caused
 the deposition of the sultan Achmet iii. whose empire, like
 that of the Romans, may, probably, be destroyed by the
 very means it was established, a standing army.

RUSSIA, or Muscovy, was but faintly understood till within
 this last century: it extends so far, as to have for its boundaries
 the frozen ocean towards the north; Chinesian-Tartary towards
 the east; the Calmucs, the Caspian sea, Cuban-Tartary,
 Georgia, the Palus-Mæotis, and the lesser Tartary towards
 the south; and Poland, the Baltic sea, and Bothnic-Gulph
 towards the east: it will be found to run through 85 degrees
 of longitude, and, consequently, is by much the largest tract
 of country on our continent, subject to one monarch. The
 Greek church is established in Russia; but, to this day, a
 great part of the inhabitants remain in a state of paganism:
 however, as this empire was spreading to maturity, Peter
 Alexowitz, justly surnamed the great, appeared like their
 rising sun; dispelling their gloom of ignorance, and animating
 them with the force of his own genius. This excellent
 monarch

monarch was the first man in his empire who became sensible CHAP. III.
of the internal force of his country, and he was the first prince
who exerted it in a proper manner. At his ascension to the
imperial throne, he found himself the sovereign of an exten-
sive country, and of a numerous people; but the manners of
the one were as much uncultivated as the soil of the other:
his predecessors had been tributaries to the Crim-Tartars; the
Turks esteemed Russia as their dependant; the Swedes held
its power in contempt; and even Poland thought herself a
match for the Muscovites. But what cannot a great genius
accomplish? The czar Peter studied to rule over men, not to
tyrannize over savages: he quitted his throne, visited the po-
litar countries of Europe, learnt their manners, and returned
to Russia full with the idea of establishing that mighty empire
which he so happily founded. He civilized his subjects, and
made them fit for society; while he instructed them how to
preserve its blessings by a knowledge of military discipline.
By taking Asoph, he had made the Turks sensible of his
power: by the treaty of Neustadt, he sufficiently humbled the
pride of Sweden, and settled himself on the Baltic, where he
built the magnificent city of Petersburg: and, by defeating
Charles xii. he became the protector of Poland, when she was
unable to protect her own sovereign. He made his subjects
acquainted with maritime affairs; he coasted the Caspian sea;
and he made the Persians tremble at his name. At the siege
of Narva, he shewed his soldiers how to form a regular
intrenchment, and to use their artillery: he brought them to
a strict observance of military obedience, by his own example;
so

BOOK II. so that his defeats before Narva, at the passage of the Duna, and at Mohiloff, only contributed to the accomplishment of his own desires in making his soldiers acquainted with the art of war, which they so thoroughly learnt from the Swedes, as to be at last capable of defeating those noble veterans at the battle of Pultowa; a victory that, while it deprived his rival of a crown, gave to himself the titles of father of his country, and emperor of all the Russias. By the example of their prince, the Muscovites, from naked barbarians, became civilized men; they threw by their clubs and arrows for swords and muskets: their Streletzes became as formidable as the Turkish Janizaries; and the Russian empire was capable of contending with that of the Ottomans.

THE Turks having granted an asylum to the unfortunate king of Sweden, were prevailed upon, in 1711, to attack the czar, under a pretence that he had violated the territories of the Porte in pursuing the Swedes who had escaped from Pultowa. The grand vizer, Mahomet Baltagi, began his march towards the Ukrain, at the head of 200,000 men: but, as the czar was only at the head of 20,000 men, the Turks surrounded him at the river Pruth, where they deprived him of provisions, and compelled him to sign a treaty of peace, whereby it was stipulated, that Asoph should be delivered to the Turks; that the other forts on the Palus-mæotis should be demolished; and that the czar should pay the Tartars their ancient subsidy of 40,000 Sequins annually. Upon which footing, things continued between the two empires till the

the year 1736, except that the czar never paid the tribute to the Tartars, which it never was expected he would have done; because it was a concession obtained by force, and agreed to only for the security of his army, which was then in the most terrible situation: for how could it be imagined that the prince, who had thrown off this shameful tribute himself, should renew it with greater ignominy?

As the Turks were dwindling away, the Russians were increasing in their military reputation. Though Peter the great was succeeded only by a woman, she gloriously pursued that plan which he had concerted for the aggrandizement of his empire: this princess had a minor for her successor; and, on his demise, the imperial sceptre came again into female hands, where it was honourably supported. Mahomet v. son of Mustapha ii. was advanced to the Ottoman throne on the deposition of Achmet iii. in 1730; who entered into a war with Thamas Kouli-Kan, in which the Persians were almost continually victorious: the Turks lost Topal Osman, their grand vizir, and the best commander they had ever seen since the time of Mahomet Kiuperli, who conquered Candia from the Venetians in 1669, after the loss of 108,000 Turks, and 80,000 Christians: from which time, the Turks began to degenerate in their valour; and, their new emperor Mahomet being of a pacific disposition, a peace, very dishonourable to Turkey, was concluded with the Persians in September 1735. While the Ottoman forces were destitute of able commanders, and losing their discipline; the Russians were instructed by the

P best

BOOK best generals of Europe, and daily improving in martial
 II. exercises: prince Menzikoff had kept up the discipline of the
 czar, and count Munich brought it to perfection: so that the
 Russians were now a formidable enemy for the Turks; the
 czarina was of a braver disposition than the grand seignior;
 and, as she had received injuries from the Porte, she was
 determined to shew her resentment: but, as this was the ground
 of a bloody war, not generally understood, it is likewise ne-
 cessary to trace the differences between the two empires.

AFTER the treaty of Pruth, the Ottoman court admitted
 a resident from Russia, and looked upon her in the same light
 with other powers; which was a mark of respect the Turks
 had never before shewn to the Muscovites: however, they
 permitted, or rather encouraged, the Crim-Tartars to make
 incursions into the Russian provinces for several years together,
 where they plundered the country, and led some thousands of
 families into slavery, which were the property of the captors,
 who gave their cham, or han of Tartary, a tax of ten slaves
 out of every hundred taken in these excursions. The Don
 Cossacs and Calmucs frequently felt the rage of these invaders,
 conducted by Delli Soltan, son to the han of Crimea, who
 slaughtered infinite numbers of people, not sparing even infants
 in the cradle; and several of those who were taken prisoners
 were carried to Constantinople, where they were demanded
 by the Russian resident: but, instead of a satisfactory answer,
 he was given to understand, that all he had to do was to ran-
 some the captives, at the rate of 100 lewkows a head. The

Daghestan-Tartars, having withdrawn their allegiance from Russia, and put themselves under the protection of the Ottomans; this occasioned the Czarina to remonstrate against such a procedure at the Porte: but her resident, as well as the ministers of Great-Britain, Holland, and the Roman emperor, received no other answer than such as the Ottoman Porte is accustomed to give, when she is disposed to a rupture; namely, "that the grand vizir would not hear any more of that affair, since such was the pleasure and intention of the sultan his master."

THESE were sufficient incentives to bring the force of Russia against the Ottoman empire: accordingly, in June 1736, count Munich, at the head of an army, consisting of 80,000 men, penetrated through little Tartary, and attacked the lines of Precop, situate at the entrance of the isthmus which unites little Tartary to the peninsula of Crim-Tartary, extending five miles, from the Palus-mæotis to the Euxine. The Russian general took these lines in so expeditious a manner, that the Turkish aga, who was made prisoner, being present at a review of the Russian troops, said, "I don't see their wings, without which I cannot imagine how they could mount so steep a rampart:" to such a great proficiency were the Russians arrived in their military exercises. Count Munich ravaged the Crimea, while veldt-marshal Lascey reduced Asoph: which losses so prodigiously alarmed the Turks, that war was declared at Constantinople, and the grand vizir sent with 100,000 men to oppose the Russians, who had taken Baccaferai, the residence

Book of the cham, and laid this capital of the Crimea entirely
II. in ashes.

As the Turks are generally much inclined to superstition, this was sufficiently raised at Constantinople on the 14th of September, when, about two in the afternoon, the horizon over the city was covered with a thick cloud, and as dark as at midnight: a bright star appeared in the midst of the cloud, of the colour of blood, and took the form of a long train; which remained about thirty-five minutes in the same situation; about four the darkness dispersed, and left a stinking fog which remained till midnight. This phenomena increased their fears; they began to tremble at the Russian name; so that the grand vizir received instructions to encamp under the cannon of Bender, and by no means to hazard a battle, if without one, he could prevent the Russians from making incursions into the Turkish territories; which occasioned the Turks to attempt nothing against the Russians during the whole campaign: but, however superstitious the Turks were at this time, they were not more ridiculous than the French, who were also alarmed with the appearance of a comet at Paris, in February 1737; the populace of France are kept in as much ignorance by the tenets of popery, as the Turks are by the fanaticism of Mahomet; the priest and the dervise are equally too powerful for sense and reason; and while the ignorant Mussulmen thought the comet in their hemisphere portentous of an unsuccessful war, some of the biggotted French took their phenomenon as a presage of the fall and disgrace of monsieur

monfieur Chauvelin, fecretary of foreign affairs, and keeper of the feals. CHAP. III.

By the treaties fubfifting between the two imperial crowns, the emperor of Germany was obliged to affift the czarina by joining in the war againft the Muffulmen. However, the court of Vienna firft offered its mediation at Conftantinople; from whence the grand feignior fent a letter to the emperor of Germany, in which his highnefs defired the emperor to explain himfelf on certain points; who returned an answer to this effect: that his imperial majefty wifhed for a peace; but that, if his offered mediation had not the defired fuccefs, and the war fhould rekindle, he could not difpenfe with himfelf from furnifhing her czarian majefty with thofe fuccours to which their reciprocal engagements obliged him. Therefore, as the grand feignior refufed to confent that the Ruffians fhould keep Afoph, and the czarina to give up that conquest, the court of Vienna made the neceffary preparations for affifting the Ruffians; for which purpofe, count Seckendorf was ordered to fet out for Hungary, to open the campaign early in the fpring: but this military alacrity was afterwards damped by a pacific torpidity; when the emperor made a feparate peace, and left Ruffia to terminate her own differences with the common enemy.

WAR having been declared againft the Turks at Vienna, the Imperialifts took the field early in the fpring of 1737, with an intention to befiege Widin, or Niffa, in Servia; while

BOOK while the Russians were preparing to attack Oczakow, the
 II. capital of Budziac Tartary : but the Venetians, who were expected to have acted on the side of Dalmatia, thought proper to continue in that state of tranquillity, which from a glorious republic has reduced them to a contemptible people. As count Seckendorf was a protestant, the duke of Lorrain had the nominal command of the imperial army, which reduced Nissa, and invested Widin ; while another body, under general Wallis, penetrated into Wallachia and Moravia : but the Turks defeated 6000 men, under baron Raunach, on the side of Croatia ; as also another body of 14,000 men, commanded by the prince of Saxe Hilburghausen, who was besieging Bagnialuck in Bosnia, when he was attacked by 30,000 Turks : they afterwards retook Nissa, covered Widin, and became superior to the Imperialists ; who attacked the whole line of the Ottoman frontiers, from Croatia to Bessarabia, which was the only province between count Wallis and the Russian army commanded by count Munich, who took Oczakow after a continual storm of four days, wherein the garrison, consisting of 20,000 Janizaries, were all killed, or taken prisoners : while count Laschy past another body over the gulph of Nigropoli, and ravaged the Crimea, where the Tartars had repaired the lines of Precop.

THE Ottoman ministry attended to the proposals of an accommodation only with an intention to gain time for collecting their forces : but this vigorous opening of the campaign disposed the Turks to think of peace with some sincerity.

For,

For, in a divan assembled on this occasion, among other reasons urged by some members, their oracle, the musti, gave his opinion, "that since a war against the infidels could not be prosecuted with any success, it was lawful to make peace with them." A resolution was taken accordingly; overtures were made for a congress; these were accepted; and Niemirow, on the confines of Poland, was the place appointed where the plenipotentiaries of the three empires had several consultations. The Czarina demanded the formal cession of Asoph and Oczakow, with other territories; and the Roman emperor insisted on the *uti possidetis*, as the basis of their negotiation, and to be reimbursed their expences: but these propositions were rejected by the Turkish plenipotentiaries, who broke off the conferences; which made the Turks more vigorous for war.

THE taking of Oczakow by the Russian army had exasperated the inhabitants of Constantinople to such a degree as to cause an insurrection in that city: so that the government, in order to appease the tumult, threw the blame upon the grand vizir Mehemmed, which occasioned his disgrace. It has been always the policy of the Ottoman princes to sacrifice their ministers to the rage of the multitude; which, in so turbulent a country, is a necessary policy, if the prince is regardful of his own security; for, in 1512, Selim was obliged to dethrone and poison his father Bajazet, to quell a sedition; and, in 1602, the sultan Mahomet iii. strangled his eldest son on a suspicion of a conspiracy: in 1617, the Janizaries dethroned Mustapha;

BOOK Mustapha; and, in 1622, assassinated his successor Osman, II. on a suspicion that he intended to disband their corps, and raise an Arabian militia in their stead: Ibrahim was deposed in 1648; as also was his successor Mahomet iv. in 1687; the former being strangled, and the latter closely confined till his death: Mustapha ii. was deposed in 1703; and his successor Achmet iii. was also deprived of the imperial dignity in 1730, when the present emperor ascended the throne: so dangerous a situation is that of the Ottoman princes! it is like treading on the point of a pyramid, where one false movement of the body causes its immediate destruction: they are bright and high, like the nocturnal exhalations in the air, commonly called dropping stars, which shoot suddenly into nothing. However, the sultans orders are most punctually executed; for if the emperor demands the head of any of his subjects, such is their resignation to his pleasure, that, instead of resisting his most arbitrary will, they comfort themselves with an opinion of its being a sort of martyrdom, and that it is a more certain way to paradise than by a natural death. This was evident during the campaign of 1737, while the Turkish army was encamped near Isachia, where the grand seignior had sent his master of the horse with orders for the deposition of the grand vizir, and to bring him the head of the Kiahia, or chief steward, which was submitted to, by the former with great obedience, and by the latter with amazing fortitude. As the grand vizir has the whole administration of the empire committed to his care, a genius seldom arises among the Turks capable of properly filling that important station; which affords

affords the possessor only a salary of about 5000l. a year; CHAP. III.
though the perquisites of his office furnish him with immense
sums, having perpetually presents from all those who enjoy, or
expect, places under the government; which accumulation of
wealth generally causes their destruction; and, indeed, so very
precarious is the enjoyment of this dignity, that it was looked
upon as miraculous when the two Kiuperlies, father and son,
enjoyed it without suffering any disgrace; which was principally
owing to their great sagacity in the cabinet, and their successes
in the field.

THE Kaimachan succeeded the grand vizir Mehemmed,
who had the consolation of seeing his enemies under the same
misfortunes: for the court of Vienna was equally dissatisfied
with the conduct of count Seckendorf, entirely laying to his
charge the ill success of the campaign in Hungary; where-
upon he was recalled from his command, but acquitted of
the charge of negligence, which had been exhibited against
him by the court of Russia: though general Doxat was
beheaded at Belgrade, for surrendering Nissa; which was an
act of cruelty, because he gallantly defended the place, and
surrendered only at the last extremity.

THE loss which the Russians sustained in the reduction of
Oczakow, incapacitated count Munich from prosecuting the
advantage; and the Imperialists were so indifferently supplied
with provisions, that count Seckendorf was obliged to disperse
them in separate bodies, and to act only defensively; which
Q encouraged

BOOK encouraged the Turks to think of regaining Oczakow, and
II. also of besieging Belgrade. Accordingly, in the beginning of
November, when both the Russian and imperial troops had
taken up their winter quarters, the famous renegado, bashaw
Bonnaval, invested Oczakow with 80,000 men, which was
so bravely defended by general Stoffeln, that the Turks, after
hazarding a general assault, were compelled to abandon the
siege, with the loss of 10,000 men.

THE maritime powers, together with France, having inef-
fectually offered their mediation to reconcile the contending
parties, the Turks made seasonable preparations for taking
the field early, and having the superiority, in the ensuing
year; when they proposed to have 250,000 men to act in
Hungary and Bessarabia: which brought on the campaign of
1738, wherein the earl of Craufurd distinguished himself in
the service of her czarian majesty.

CHAP. IV.

An account of the earl of Craufurd's preparations for the Russian campaign of 1738: his voyage to Petersburg; his reception at that court; and his journey from thence to the Russian army in Bessarabia. His reception by feldt-marshal Munich: an account of the Tartars; as also of the campaign in Turkey, and the earl of Craufurd's journey to the imperial army in Hungary. His reception by the grand duke of Tuscany: an account of the campaign in Hungary, and his lordship's journey to Vienna. With some memoirs relating to the character and banishment of count Munich.

THE late serasquier of Oczakow, being sent prisoner CHAP. IV.
to Petersburg, entered into conferences with the
Russian ministry for settling the terms of an accom-
modation, and sent his secretary to Constantinople for necessary
powers to treat of a peace: but the grand vizir made this
answer to the secretary, "thou may'st return to the un-
believers, and tell Jahia Bashaw, that before sending thee, he
ought

BOOK ought to have known, that his sublime highness is not accustomed to treat of peace by means of either slaves, or prisoners; and, therefore, he has no full powers to send him:" so that the czarina made the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign, and for continuing the war in a more vigorous manner on the side of Bessarabia.

As a young combatant repairing to the Olympian games, burned with the love of glory; which was redoubled by those shouts and acclamations he heard bestowed on some happy victor, as his rapid car approached the goal of honour: so the earl of Craufurd glowed with military ardour, and was preparing himself to re-enter the lists of war against the common enemy of christianity, liberty, and Europe; while his love of fame was augmented by those praises which were universally paid to count Munich, the glorious Russian general, whose conduct and bravery had abated the insolence of the Turks, and made the Ottoman emperor tremble at the forces of her czarian majesty.

HIS lordship, having obtained the royal permission for attending the imperial army as a volunteer in Hungary, sent his servants, with eleven horses, in November 1737, before him to Vienna, to wait there for his arrival; as he then intended to have joined the Imperialists in March or April following, when the whole army was assembled for opening the campaign. However, he afterwards altered his resolution, by the advice of prince Cantemir, at that time ambassador from the czarina

to his Britannic majesty, with whom his lordship was intimate-
ly acquainted: for the prince represented to him, that the
Russian army would begin their operations much sooner than
the Imperialists, who would continue the campaign longer
than the Muscovites, and that his lordship might have an
opportunity of joining both armies; which made him deter-
mine to make the campaign with the Russian general.

ACCORDINGLY, in the month of April 1738, his lordship
embarked at Gravesend on his voyage to Peterburgh, attended
by three servants with as many horses, and accompanied by
captain Mackenzie, Mr. Cummin, son of Sir Alexander Cum-
min, and Mr. Barrow, who were desirous of acting as
volunteers, and of promoting themselves to some command
in the service of the czarina: but, when they arrived on the
coast of Norway, a violent storm arose, which obliged the
captain to return to England, and put into Leostoffe bay, on
the coast of Suffolk; where they continued two days, and
then set sail for Elfsineur, a port town on the island of Zealand,
situate on the sound, or strait, at the entrance of the Baltic
sea, where the Danes take toll of all mercantile vessels resort-
ing to any port in the Baltic. His lordship's horses were so
severely bruised in the storm, that there was a necessity of
removing them on shore, where they were left under the care
of one of the grooms belonging to his Danish majesty, and
one of his lordship's own domestics; while his lordship pro-
ceeded on his voyage to Peterburgh. After sailing four days
up the Baltic, a great calm and fog came on together; which
obliged

BOOK obliged the captain to carry a lanthorn at the main-top for six
II. days and nights; during which time they were incapable of
taking any observation, or keeping any reckoning. On the
seventh day, in the morning, the ship struck so violently upon
a rock, that the captain imagined she must have sunk; but,
by exercising the pumps, she was found to have providentially
received little damage; and the same day, about eleven
o'clock, the fog dispersed, and the sun appeared; when, to
his great surprise, the captain discovered the steeple of Riga
in Livonia; for he apprehended himself to have been more
upon the coast of Gothland, than upon that of Oesel. Upon
this, they immediately proceeded up the gulph of Finland,
and entered the harbour of Cronstot, a station for the Russian
navy, situate on a little island of the same name, in the
mouth of the river Neva, twelve miles west of Peterburgh.
His lordship was received at Cronstot, with singular marks of
distinction, by admiral Gordon, who was a Scotchman, and
commander of the Russian fleet; with whom his lordship
contracted an intimate friendship, and continued with him two
days: but, on the third day in the morning, the admiral sent
his barges to conduct his lordship to Peterburgh, who was
saluted several times by the cannon as he went on board, and
was entertained with a band of musick all the way to
the capital, where his lordship landed at the English dock,
among a numerous concourse both of the Russian quality, and
of the populace; the former of whom had heard his lordship
highly commended by the generals Lascey, Keith, and Biron;
and all shewed the highest demonstrations of joy, upon his
arrival

arrival in Russia. The British minister likewise attended his CHAP.
ordship at the dock, and the same day introduced him to the IV.
czarina, who honoured his lordship with the highest marks of
distinction, and expressed the greatest satisfaction on having so
noble a volunteer to join her army.

HIS lordship being now resident in the metropolis of the
Russian empire, where he was obliged to continue some time
to prepare himself for the campaign, he had leisure to take a
view of this magnificent city, which is situate on both sides
the river Neva, in the provinces of Carelia and Ingria, between
the gulph of Finland and the lake Ladoga; but there are
several small islands also in the mouth of the river Neva,
which are built upon, and make part of the city; so that it
is of a very large extent, appearing like several distinct towns,
rather than a single city. The czar, Peter the great, began the
foundation, in the year 1703, principally with the view of ob-
taining a communication with the Baltic sea, and that his
subjects might have a more commodious way of trafficking
with the other European nations, than by that of Arch-
angel, to which shipping were obliged to pass through the
frozen ocean. Above 100,000 people perished in laying the
foundation of this metropolis, which, after many difficulties,
was at last accomplished, and afterwards received such im-
provements as to outrival Moscow, and to become not only
the residence of the sovereign, but the capital of the empire:
so that it soon became a populous, polite, and flourishing city.
The czar not only imitated Alexander in war, but also in
peace;;

BOOK peace; he was little inferior to him in the one, and he even
 II. excelled him in the other: if the Macedonian conquered
 Darius, and became sovereign of Persia; the Muscovite
 defeated a much braver enemy, and prevented him for
 some years from returning to his kingdom: if Alexander built
 the large city of Alexandria; Peter erected that of Peterburgh;
 both of which soon became considerable for commerce, and
 were equally situated in a low, barren, desert country: but
 Alexandria, though it was once the capital of Egypt, is now
 little better than a heap of ruins; in which Peterburgh seems
 to have the advantage, as it promises a longer existence;
 whereby the Neva, which before was an inconsiderable river,
 is now become a rival to the celebrated Nile. However, the
 czar continued to improve his city with the noblest institutions
 for the encouragement of industry, and the promotion of
 commerce; wherein he surpassed the prudence of Lycurgus,
 who forbid the Lacedæmonians the exercise of any mean
 and mechanical employment.

THE czarina Anne Iwanowna, who at this time wore the
 imperial diadem of Russia, was the widow of the duke of
 Courland, being the second daughter of the czar John, elder
 brother to, and co-regent with, Peter the great: on her
 ascending the throne, which she had done in prejudice to the
 descendant of her eldest sister Katharine, she was induced to
 sign an instrument, whereby she transferred great part of her
 authority to the states; though she found means to break
 through it, when she reigned as despotically as any of her
 predecessors,

predecessors, and banished prince Dolgoruki into Siberia, for CHAP
causing her to sign the abovementioned instrument. She was IV.
of a bold and noble spirit, like Semiramis, Zenobia, Isabella
of Castile, and Elizabeth of England: she was not desirous
of extending her dominions, but of securing their tranquility;
which occasioned her to restore several places to Persia, and to
take up arms against the Turks; wherein she pursued that
maxim which Claudius Pontius, general of the Samnites,
delivered to his countrymen, previous to their war with the
Romans, being, "that war is just, which is necessary." Her
imperial majesty was a friend to every lover of arms; but she
was more particularly so to the earl of Craufurd, who went
constantly twice a day to her court, and was so much in favour
with the czarina, that she requested him to accept of the
command of a regiment of horse, and the rank of
lieutenant-general in her service; which his lordship very
politely declined. His lordship was also a great favourite
with the princess Elizabeth daughter of the czar Peter, who
at this time fills the imperial throne of Russia with a lustre wor-
thy of her father: he frequently visited her court, and made
the princess a present of two of his horses which had arrived
from Elfineur, and the third he gave to count Biron, duke
of Courland, who honoured his lordship with his friendship
but his lordship purchased several horses in their room, and
particularly his favourite Spaniard. The princess Elizabeth
was fond of riding, in which she was often accompanied by
the earl of Craufurd, whom she admired for his skill in horse-
manship, and also took notice that his lordship's groom was

BOOK very expert in that exercise; which occasioned her highness to
 II. request it as a particular favour of the earl of Craufurd, that
 he would let his groom enter into her service. His lordship readily obliged the princess, and the servant, whose name was James Graham, was appointed her chief groom; who became so great a favourite that, in the year 1748, he was made a captain of cuirassiers, and in all probability has obtained a superior command.

AFTER continuing about three weeks at Petersburg, his lordship had provided himself with proper necessaries for the campaign, and was now ready for his departure from court, where he took leave of her imperial majesty, who honoured him with recommendatory letters to feldt-marshal Munich, then commanding the army assembled in the neighbourhood of Crim-Tartary. As there was no regulation for the post-stages towards the Ukraïn, the czarina had sent a courier two days before his lordship, to have horses in readiness on the road wherever he was to pass; besides which, the empress sent a captain and corporal of her own guard, to accompany his lordship, and see that every thing necessary was provided for him through her dominions, as far as Kiow, the capital city of the Russian Ukraïn, situate on the frontiers of Poland, which was the first city the Russians ever built. In this manner, his lordship departed from Petersburg about the middle of May, attended by two servants, and the three British volunteers; all desirous of joining the Russian army in Bessarabia. They past through the large provinces of
 Ingria,

Ingria, Novogorod-Weliki, Reschow, Bielski, Smolensko, Novogorod-Sewierski, Worotin, and Belgorod, before they arrived at the Ukrain; which province has this appellation on account of its being a frontier against Turkey, and is inhabited by the Cossacks, who have scarce any town in their country, but are perpetually rambling from place to place, in large tribes, like the Arabians. His lordship paid a visit to general Keith, who then lay ill of his wounds at Pultowa, with whom his lordship continued a whole day, and then set out for Niemirow on the Polish frontier; where he met with a German count, who was likewise going volunteer to the Russian army. This nobleman gave his lordship intelligence that count Renski, a general in the imperial service, had departed the day before for Raskow, a Polish frontier town on the Niester, with an escort to conduct him to the Russian army; which was then posted, along the river Bog, in Budziac-Tartary, and endeavouring to penetrate towards Bender, a large town, situated in the very centre of Bessarabia; in which neighbourhood the bashaw of that town was encamped with 50,000 men, along the Niester, to watch the motions of the Russians; having received orders from the grand seignior to give count Munich battle, if he attempted to pass that river. Upon this information, his lordship, attended by two servants, set out immediately for Raskow, leaving his baggage and the volunteers behind him at Niemirow; with an expectation of overtaking the escort, in which he was disappointed. On his arrival at Raskow, the governor, for some time, refused him admittance: but, being informed who his lordship was, he

R 2 permitted

BOOK permitted him to enter, and continue there for an hour;

II. during which time, the whole garrison stood under arms; because a detachment of the Turks had been there in the morning, and threatened that, if the governor gave the least assistance to any of their enemies, they would certainly set the town on fire: so that his lordship, after a little refreshment, was obliged to think of returning to Niemirow; having prevailed on the Polish governor to send an express, with a letter, to feldt-marshal Munich, acquainting his excellency, of his having been stopt at Raskow, and desiring him to send an escort to Niemirow: the governor of Raskow was extremely concerned that his lordship had met with such a disappointment, and, to give him what assistance was in his power, he ordered two Hussars to conduct him till day-light; for his lordship was obliged to take the best opportunity of travelling in the night, on account of some Turkish out-parties, who surrounded that part of Podolia. To prevent falling into the hands of the enemy, his lordship was obliged to make several marches and countermarches in the night, and was reduced to great distress for want of provision: however, they arrived at a village, where his lordship intended to refresh himself, and where he discharged the two Hussars, with a handsome gratuity for their trouble: but his lordship had scarcely been there four hours, before he was alarmed with a report that a body of Budziac Tartars were marching towards the village; which his lordship found to be true, and ordered his horses to be immediately ready; at the same time hiring four Polish Cossacks, and a Jew, to conduct him through the woods, where

where there was great danger of falling into the hands of the CHAP.
Haidemacks; a barbarous kind of people, inhabiting the IV.
woods, and mountainous parts of the country; from whence
they frequently make descents for plunder, robbing and murdering every person in their way. After travelling all night, his lordship arrived at another Polish village, equidistant from Niemirow, and Raskow; where he apprehended himself out of danger, and went to rest for a few hours. In the mean time, there came a man, who had been with the Russian army three days before: upon which his lordship was awaked, and informed of this person; when he immediately sent for him, and asked him if he would undertake to conduct him safe to the army; which he readily agreed to do, for the reward offered by his lordship, who ordered every thing to be prepared for continuing his journey, hiring six more Cossacks for his guard, and another Jew for an interpreter. Thus escorted, his lordship departed from the village, about five o'clock in the afternoon, for the conveniency of travelling in the night, when the least danger was to be expected: but, after marching about two Polish miles, they came to a place, where another Jew gave them information that it was hazardous to attempt a pass this way; the Tartars having been seen that morning a mile from the place in his lordship's way to the army. Upon such intelligence, his lordship also made an agreement with this Jew, and hired two more Cossacks, to facilitate his passage to the Russians; with whom he set out about eleven o'clock, travelling the whole night, under the direction of the last Jew, all on foot, through woods and mountains,

BOOK mountains, holding by the tails of their horses. In this
II. manner, they reached the summit of a mountain at sun-rising,
when they heard a noise round them, which they truly apprehended to be a party of the enemy: but, having an open plain before them, his lordship and his attendants made the best of their way, marching without any molestation until evening, when they were obliged to pass a river, and received information that the Tartars had been there at twelve o'clock the same day. This occasioned his lordship to halt; when he ordered two Cossacks and a Jew forward to the pass, to make enquiry if they might venture that way with any security; who returned with information that some of the Russian Cossacks had been there that afternoon: so that finding the pass free, his lordship continued the same rout all that night, and came early the next morning to a deep morass, which was got over with great difficulty by all his attendants. While they were passing this morass, they were alarmed with a great noise of a body of men, from the high grounds above them: whereupon his lordship sent two Cossacks to discover what they were; who, on their return, acquainted him that they imagined the men were Russians. However, for fear of any mistake, his lordship ordered the whole of his retinue to march in order; and, in case the men they had discovered should prove enemies, to tell them that his lordship came from the Polish camp of observation, with orders for marshal Munich to proceed no further upon their territories: but, to their general satisfaction, they found it to be the Russian avant-guard, who came down as soon as they espied

espied the retinue, which they disarmed, and conducted them CHAP. IV.
as prisoners to the commanding officer, to whom his lordship made himself known, when he was politely received, and treated with all imaginable respect; while the retinue had their arms restored. This commanding officer ordered a guard of one hundred men to conduct his lordship to feldt-marshal Munich, who was then reviewing the army; and, when his lordship delivered the letters from her czarian majesty, his excellency saluted him with the greatest expressions of joy, and the strongest denotations of friendship; desiring his lordship to mount his horse, and accompany him during the review; where his excellency was delighted with his new military companion, shewed him the greatest marks of distinction in the face of the whole army, and was extremely satisfied with the pleasure his lordship discovered at the noble appearance of the troops, together with their uniformity of dress, and dexterity of evolution. When the review was ended, the feldt-marshal, accompanied with all the general officers of distinction, conducted his lordship to the head quarters, where the army was encamped. As soon as they dismounted, the feldt-marshal embraced his lordship in the most affectionate manner: the greatest hero of his age was transported to see such a noble instance of military virtue in his lordship: his great soul disdained the idle ceremony of state, and claimed an immediate alliance with one so similar to itself. If the marshal was delighted to see so fair a scion of Mars; what exalted pleasure must his lordship have received to clasp the full-grown tree majestic in all its glories? This was a noble interview; if the
marshal

Book marshal looked upon the earl of Craufurd as a glorious star making its first appearance; his lordship looked upon the Russian general as an effulgent sun in its meridian lustre: so that this interview, in regard of its true nobility, was nothing inferior to that when the duke of Marlborough received to his arms the young heir of the Austrian monarchy.

FELDT-MARSHAL Munich conducted the earl of Craufurd into his tent, where his lordship received the compliments of all the general officers, congratulating him on his safe arrival: when the marshal was pleased to tell him, "that he had been in greater danger in joining the army, than he would be exposed to, during the remainder of the campaign:" in which assertion his excellency might well be justified; for his lordship had been upwards of a month travelling through a tract of country almost one thousand miles in length; through barren and uncultivated places, among woods and mountains, with roads difficult to be known and almost impassable: besides, he had crossed the Luga, Duina, Nieper, Dezna, Sem, Bog, and several other rivers of less distinction; as also many lakes, and not a few morasses; always attended with extraordinary inconveniencies, and at last frequently in danger from the enemy. After this, his lordship withdrew, and was conducted to a large Turkish tent, which the marshal had ordered to be pitched near his own, for the use of his lordship; who, after he was dressed, received an invitation to dine with the marshal, with whom he spent the whole evening, as he also did all the time he continued with the army, constantly accompanying the

the marshal in all his marches, who ordered his lordship's CHAP.
baggage to be taken care of with his own, and his tent always IV.
to be pitched close to his own pavilion.

THE feldt-marshal had received his lordship's letter, by the express sent by the Polish governor of Raskow, before the arrival of his lordship in the camp; and had dispatched an escort of 150 men to Niemirow, where he imagined his lordship would have returned, as he conceived it was impracticable to come any other way: however, the escort found the volunteers, who attended his lordship from England, and conducted them, together with the equipage, to the army, fourteen days after the arrival of his lordship.

AT the opening of this campaign, the Turks had 250,000 men in arms; part of which were employed, under the command of the grand vizir, against the imperial army on the side of Hungary; and the remainder were assembled on the frontiers of Bessarabia, under the command of the bashaw of Bender, to oppose the progress of the Russians. The grand vizir had opened his way into the Bannat of Temeswaer, where the Imperialists were as unsuccessful as in the preceding campaign: but count Munich was still successful on the side of Oczakow. The Ottoman fleet, composed of six men of war, and a great number of little armed vessels, attacked the Russian Flotilla in the sea of Asoph: but admiral Bredal gained the coast, where he planted batteries, which obliged the Turks to retire. In the mean time, feldt-marshal Laschy,

BOOK at the head of 50,000 men, re-attacked and forced the
 H. repaired lines of Precop, defended by 40,000 Turks and
 Tartars, under the command of Sultan Galga, the eldest son
 of the cham; which gave the count an opportunity of
 reducing that fortress, whereby he laid open the Crimea to a
 new invasion, and plundered the country as far as Caffa.

SOON after the earl of Craufurd joined the Russian army,
 feldt-marshal Munich past the river Bog in his march to Bender,
 at the head of 60,000 Muscovites, and 40,000 Calmucks;
 who, on the 30th of June, were attacked by a numerous
 army of Turks: but, by the bravery of the Russians, and
 the right management of their artillery, which did great exe-
 cution, the Infidels were obliged to abandon the field of bat-
 tle, with considerable loss. Feldt-marshal Munich afterwards
 continued his march till the 8th of July, when he was again
 engaged with the enemy, on the banks of the Savrana, nigh
 the frontier of Poland: but the Turks, after an obstinate at-
 tack which continued four hours, were again defeated, and
 put to flight; leaving, contrary to their custom, a great
 number of their dead, and among them several persons of
 distinction, in the field of battle. The loss of the Russians
 in these actions was very inconsiderable; so that feldt-marshal
 Munich continued his march for the Njester; during which he
 was perpetually harraffed by the Tartars, and sustained another
 vigorous attack; but had still the good fortune to repulse the
 enemy with inconsiderable loss on his side: in which action,
 the prince of Wolfembutte, and the earl of Craufurd, greatly
 distinguished

distinguished themselves. Being, at length, arrived within CHAP. IV.
two leagues of the Niester, between the rivers Molokisch and
Bielocz, they were met, on the 26th of July, by the sultan
of Belgorod, chief of the Budziac Tartars; who, being
reinforced by a considerable body of Turks, commanded an
army of 60,000 men, with which he made a fourth onset on
the Russians, attacking them in several quarters: so that the
dispute was obstinate, several times renewed, and continued
six or seven hours; when the Turks and Tartars were repulsed
on all sides with great bravery; and the day following the
Russians took post on the banks of the Niester.

THE Tartars, who are the descendants of the ancient
Scythians, still retain the manners and customs of their ances-
tors; being both hospitable and brave in their own country,
but entirely addicted to rapine and plunder abroad. They
are generally of a stature and constitution fit for the fatigues
of war; but their greatest merit is in their celerity for action;
mounted on fleet horses, and well exercised in archery. The
earl of Craufurd was desirous of being acquainted with their
manner of discipline: he had contracted an intimate friendship
with Dondue Ombo, kan of the Calmucks, tributary to Rus-
sia; as also with his son Goldonarmi, whom he accompanied
in their attack against the Turks in this last engagement,
wherein his lordship shewed as much agility, in charging and
retreating, as if he had been educated among the Tartarian
nation: he sabred one of the enemy, whom he stript of his
arms, and brought his bow, together with his quiver full of
arrows,

BOOK arrows, with him to England; he acquired great reputation
II. among the Calmucks; and he became thoroughly acquainted
with their singular manner of fighting. It is the highest instance of a noble mind to bear great qualities without betraying any desire of popular applause: the earl of Craufurd behaved among the Calmucks with as much modesty as bravery; they had a natural curiosity to behold a person of such heroic worth; which was the more ardent, because every man formed from the character of his lordship something in common with himself: so that the Calmucks, on this occasion, might have very properly applied to themselves the lines of Virgil, where a Tyrian, on seeing Æneas, enquires, "what chief is this who comes to visit us from so great a distance, and whose noble mien bespeaks him a soldier?" Alexander the great was surprized when he was told that Catenes, by his dexterity in shooting, could kill birds in their flight, and prevent them from destroying the carcass of Bessus, whom he intended to crucify for his treachery: he was no less surprized when the Scythian ambassador acquainted him, "that he should find them in the camp, while he imagined them in flight; for anger made them as swift to pursue, as fear to fly from an enemy:" but, had he lived at this time, he would have had the same cause for astonishment. The Scythians were then desirous of no other things than a yoke of oxen, the plough, the bow, and the bowl: they were impatient of a conqueror; they would not stoop to own themselves subject to any, nor did they desire submission from others: in this, the generality of the present race of Tartars also retained the spirit of their
ancestors,

ancestors, who called Alexander to his face a plunderer of CHAP. provinces, though he professed himself the scourge of all IV. thieves and robbers; but their descendants are certainly the worst of this kind that ever inhabited those parts of the globe; for, not satisfied with plundering other nations, they commit the greatest ravages on themselves, which was the occasion of the present war. The ancient Scythians knew that their desarts were derided in the Grecian adages; yet they delighted in those more than in rich and populous cities situated in fertile soils; which seems to be the sentiments of the Tartars, who, notwithstanding they are tributaries to the Chinese, the Moghol, the Persian, the Turk, the Russian, and the Polander, are properly subject to none. The Mammalukes boasted that they had the nimblest and most serviceable horses of any military people in the world: but these roving Tartars would have convinced them to the contrary, if fortune had taken another course, by giving the Ottoman empire to the Mammalukes, instead of making them subject to the Ottomans; for all the Tartars are most accomplished horsemen, like their old neighbours the Parthians; whom they also imitate in war, by counterfeiting a flight, and shewing their backs to their enemies, much more dangerous than their faces. Indeed, this way of fighting may seem weak and unmanly among our disciplined Europeans; but Indathirsez very well accounted for it, when Darius upbraided him with avoiding a battle; for the Scythian monarch answered, "that they did it not for fear of him, or any other man living, but that it was the fashion of his country to march in this manner; as having
neither

BOOK neither cities, houses, nor cultivated land to defend, or to fear
 II. their enemies should reap any commodity by them :” which
 is a custom justified by Homer in his character of Æneas, and
 by Plato in his discourse between Socrates and Laches. The
 earl of Craufurd was extremely well pleased with the Tartarian
 discipline ; especially as it was directed and used by feldt-
 marshal Munich : it was here he learnt how to make a bold,
 speedy, and vigorous attack ; how to elude an enemy, and
 to assist a friend ; as also how to form an excellent retreat from
 a superior army ; so that by his intimacy with Donduc Ombo,
 and his own observation, he made himself entirely master of
 the manner of conducting a body of irregulars.

THE river Niester rises near Lemburgh in Poland, and
 running south-east separates Podolia from Moldavia ; after
 which it directs its course through the middle of Bessarabia,
 and falls into the black sea near Belgorod. The Russians were
 now upon the banks of this river, with an intention to besiege
 Bender, which is situated on the Niester, about one hundred
 miles to the north-west of the black sea, and upwards of
 three hundred north of Constantinople ; being the most con-
 siderable place in the province of Bessarabia, and remarkable
 for affording an asylum to Charles xii. of Sweden, after the
 fatal battle of Pultowa in 1709. Feldt-Marshal Munich,
 having posted his army on the banks of the Niester, immedi-
 ately assembled a council of war ; when it was resolved to
 attempt to cross the river, notwithstanding the Turkish army
 was intrenched on the opposite side. Accordingly, orders were
 issued

issued for this purpose, and a battery was erected, in the night to cover the pontons, from which they cannonaded the Turks the two following days; who had three masked batteries on the other side, and played them with so much warmth as to oblige the Russians at that time to relinquish the attempt. The next morning, feldt-marshal Munich assembled another council of war, when it was agreed to attempt the passage higher up the river; because it was impracticable in their present situation, on account of the steepness of the banks, and the works thrown up by the enemy. Pursuant to this resolution, the Russians proceeded higher up along the river, on the 29th of July; when the enemy, taking this motion for a flight, sent over the greatest part of their cavalry, with some of their best infantry, to join the Tartars: so that the Russians were attacked in their march by 25,000 Janizaries, many thousands of Spahis, Arnouts, and Asiatic horse, with all the Tartars of Belgorod and Nogay; but the Turks were still defeated, and lost several thousands of their men. However, count Munich, though invincible in battle, found the Niester an insuperable barrier to the Turkish empire on that side, and all his endeavours to pass that river were ineffectual: upon which, he continued his march along the banks of the Niester up to Kamitnicza, a little below Sorokow, from whence he intended, pursuant to his orders, to advance and besiege Chotzim, a frontier town of Moldavia, on the confines of Poland; but as the season was far spent, and as he must have marched through a country infected with the pestilence, he declined hazarding his army for the sake of undertaking the siege, and chose

BOOK chose to make his retreat through the territories of Poland to
 II. Kiow, in the way to his old winter quarters in the Ukrain;
 which was securely executed: while marshal Laszy abandoned
 the Crimea, after committing all the ravages he could, having
 blown up the fortifications of Or, and demolished the lines
 of Precop, when he also returned into the Ukrain; as did
 baron Stoffelen with the garrisons of Oczakow and Kimburne;
 after the demolition of those fortifications: however, in the
 ensuing campaign, count Munich, not only reduced Chotzim,
 but took Bender, and reduced the whole province of Bessara-
 bia; after which he penetrated into Moldavia, and was on
 his march to join the Imperialists in Hungary, when the sepa-
 rate peace was concluded between the courts of Vienna and
 Constantinople.

THE earl of Craufurd accompanied count Munich, in this
 retreat, about three weeks; when, as nothing more was to
 be undertaken, he acquainted the marshal with his intention
 of visiting the imperial army in Hungary before the conclu-
 sion of the campaign; who not only honoured him with
 recommendatory letters to the grand duke of Tuscany, but
 asked his lordship in what manner he would have the British
 volunteers provided for, and conferred commissions on every
 one of them according to what his lordship requested: after
 which his lordship took an affecting leave of the marshal,
 who, as well as all his officers, was extremely concerned at
 the departure of so noble a companion in the chase of glory.
 His lordship was escorted by a party of horse to Niemirow,
 where

where he left his equipage, and took post to make the more CHAP.
IV.
expedition in joining the Imperialists. In his road to Belgrade, his lordship past through the Polish army, which was then encamped on the frontier of Moldavia, to observe the motions of the Turks, and prevent any incursions from the Tartars, who, in the following year, ravaged a part of Podolia, and took 3900 Polanders into slavery. Count Rutowski, the natural son of Augustus, king of Poland, by the countess of Koningsmark, and brother to marshal Saxe, was then commander of the Polish army; being the same nobleman who was fellow academician with his lordship at Paris, and with whom he was most intimately acquainted. Their friendship had been renewed in the year 1735, when a body of Saxons were in the service of the emperor; and it was now further corroborated by an interview which his lordship had with the Polish general; who treated him with all that nobleness of soul, and generous familiarity, which constitute the most perfect and permanent state of friendship. Count Rutowski had exercised his military genius against the French when they attempted to fix Stanislaus on the throne of Poland; the earl of Craufurd had distinguished himself against the Turks; and they had both together prepared themselves for attacking the French, in Germany; so that it was natural for these young warriors to discourse of those actions which had drawn their academical theory so conspicuously into practice. Count Rutowski took his lordship down his lines, shewed him the discipline of the Polish troops, and afterwards ordered his body coach, with a strong guard, to conduct his lordship a
T day's

BOOK day's journey ; who, the next morning, took leave of the

II. Polish general, and continued his rout ; being escorted through all the territories of Poland by the Hussars, which were quartered on the road for the security of the couriers between the Polish and Russian armies ; they even conducted his lordship to Buda in Hungary, from whence he proceeded to Belgrade with his own domestics, where he arrived in security, after a very tedious journey. ; having past through all the southern part of Poland, and crossed the whole extent of Hungary from north to south.

THE imperial army was at this time in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, having made an unsuccessful campaign ; though so brave and experienced a general as marshal Konigseck commanded under the grand duke of Tuscany, in the room of count Seckendorf : for the Turkish army, consisting of 100,000 men, commanded by the grand vizir, opened the campaign by reducing Semendria, Ufitza, old Orsova, and Meadia, before the Imperialists were assembled : however, marshal Konigseck, defeated them before Meadia, on the 23d of June, when the Turks lost three thousand men, and the Imperialists one thousand two hundred ; whereby the marshal was enabled to retake that place, and raise the siege of new Orsova ; but the Turks, having greatly the superiority of forces, soon after renewed the siege, and caused the town to surrender ; while the imperial army was so far from being in a condition to face the Turks, that marshal Konigseck was obliged to retire within the lines of Belgrade, where he expected

expected to be attacked when the earl of Craufurd joined the army : though the grand vizir undertook nothing afterwards ; contenting himself with plundering the Bannat of Temeswaer, and with the reduction of the important fortress of new Orsova, where he seized two hundred and fifty cannon and mortars intended for the siege of Widin. CHAP. IV.

THE earl of Craufurd delivered his letters of recommendation from count Munich to the grand duke of Tuscany, who received his lordship with extraordinary marks of respect ; but, as all the operations of the campaign were at a stand, his serene highness departed from the army on his return to Vienna ; having first introduced the earl of Craufurd to the feldt-marshals Konigseck and Wallis, and directed them to shew him every mark of distinction due to his rank, merit, and reputation. His lordship continued with the imperial army about six weeks ; during which time nothing material happened, and the army went into their winter cantonments ; whereupon his lordship marched with general Linden, who commanded prince Eugene's regiment to Comorra, thirty-three miles south-east of Presburgh, and fifty more from Vienna ; where he was highly carested by prince Hilburghausen, the governor of the place, as also by the generals Bernklau, Linden, and Leschner, who were obliged to hold their second quarentine at Comorra ; as several places in the lower Hungary were at that time infected with the plague.

BOOK

II.

THE earl of Craufurd, before his departure for Russia, had sent his servants and horses to Vienna, where they continued till the month of August, when they received a letter from his lordship with orders that two men should immediately march to meet him at Belgrade; acquainting them that he was setting out post from the Russian army to join the Imperialists in Hungary. General Diemar procured the proper passes, and recommended the servants to the marquis Guadagni, then governor of Esseck in Slavonia, who ordered them to proceed no further without his directions; because a considerable body of robbers were lurking in a large wood in the way to Belgrade, who had even the audacity to attack the numerous retinue belonging to prince Hilburghausen. The marquis sent intelligence to his lordship, at the head quarters, that his servants and horses were arrived at Esseck; acquainting him with the reason of their detention: for which his lordship returned him thanks, and ordered his servants to take the horses back again to Buda, where they would find a letter at the post-house with directions where to meet him, as he was then on his march to Comorra. The servants, after fourteen days quarantine at Zegzard, arrived within a post of Buda, where the plague reigned very much; which intimidated them from entering the town, and occasioned them to send a messenger to the post-master, who returned without any letter: whereupon, they got a certificate from the bailiff of the village of having proceeded no further towards Buda, which was attested by the priest and clerk of the parish, and with which

which they continued their rout towards Raab, in hopes of receiving some intelligence of his lordship. After travelling two days, they came to a village, about a league distant from Comorra, where a regiment of Bavarian infantry arrived at the same time; and while his lordship's servants were at supper, in a room full of company, one of them, who was a German, attended to the discourse of a gentleman then speaking highly in praise of an English nobleman, who marched up with their regiment from Belgrade. This gentleman was chaplain to the regiment of Eugene; but when the servant enquired of him the title of this nobleman, he told him he could not recollect his name; though, by his description of the person, the servants were fully convinced it was their master, and that his lordship was then at Comorra. They told the chaplain whose domestics they were, and that they had his lordship's horses with them; who replied that he heard his lordship speak about them, and that he seemed to be uneasy to know what was become of them: but the chaplain said, he could not tell how they would get a passage over the Danube; because orders were given to ferry none over that came from the lower Hungary, except such regiments as were to be quartered in the district of Comorra; but that this Bavarian regiment was one, which was to pass the Danube the next morning. Upon this, one of the servants addressed himself to the commanding officer of the regiment; informing him whose horses they were, and requested the favour to let them pass as belonging to the regiment; who readily granted it, saying, "that he was glad to have

BOOK have an opportunity of obliging the earl of Craufurd, whom
 II. he well remembered on the Rhine in 1735:” by which in-
 ~~~~~  
 dulgence the servants brought the horses safe to Comorra; where they had the satisfaction of finding his lordship in good health, who was extremely glad to see his favourite domestic; it being just a year, to a day, since his lordship had sent his servants and horses from England to Vienna.

PRINCE Hilburghausen, and the other general officers at Comorra, were so fond of the earl of Craufurd that he was obliged to be almost altogether in their company; so that he had little time to himself: however, he employed what leisure hours he could get, in writing down his observations of the Russian campaign, and in drawing out plans, till the middle of February, when he set out for Vienna; where he continued till the beginning of April, and then returned to Comorra with the equipage which had been left at Vienna, and which was now augmented by the arrival of five saddle horses, and a sleeping waggon drawn by four horses, all which had served him in the Russian campaign: so that his lordship was now prepared for taking the field in Hungary.

THE earl of Craufurd made great improvements in this campaign under count Munich, whose actions he carefully studied, whose advice he diligently pursued, and whom he admired as the greatest general of the age. The Russian marshal shewed a particular affection to the earl of Craufurd, on account of that noble disposition which he perceived in him



him for the attainment of military knowledge; he looked upon him as his pupil in the school of war, entertaining him with great familiarity, and taking great pains to instruct him in every part of his discipline. The marshal instructed his lordship like a Socrates; his lordship attended to the marshal like an Alcibiades: if Socrates perceived virtue, and a good disposition, to appear and shine through the person of Alcibiades; marshal Munich was equally pleased with what he could discover in the earl of Craufurd: so that if the Grecian took care to preserve so hopeful a plant from perishing in the flower, before its fruit came to perfection; the Russian carefully cultivated the seeds of glory, which he found so abundant in the breast of his favourite Briton: while the earl of Craufurd was so much pleased with the kindness of count Munich, that he paid the same regard to him, as Alcibiades did to Socrates, who eat together, and reposed in the same tent; in which there was also a similarity between the marshal and his lordship, who had frequent conversations with him upon the operations of the campaign, and upon the different methods of managing a war between the Turks and the christian powers. His lordship was much taken with the marshal's way of incamping every night within his carriages, with so much security that no part of his army could be annoyed, or disturbed, without manifest loss to those who should make such an attempt. His lordship was also greatly pleased with the marshal's method of managing the several attacks which were made upon him almost every day, by numerous irregular bodies of Turks and Tartars, to incommode and retard his march:



BOOK march : for the marshal received all these attacks by his Cossacks and Calmucks, in such a manner as if they only had been to bear the whole weight of the dispute : but these irregulars were so very well disciplined, and he had brought them to be so observant of all his orders, that, upon a signal given, they opened in the center, and retired to the right and left, with the utmost precipitation, as if they had been flying, untill they formed again in the rear, after the execution of the artillery, upon the same ground where they had been to receive the attack : for, as soon as the front was clear of his own men, the marshal had his cannon loaded with grape and partridge shot ; which made great havock amongst the enemy ; and, when his artillery had made an impression upon them, he had fresh bodies of Cossacks and Calmucks, properly posted, who fell upon them with their sabres and lances ; whereby both Turks and Tartars were soon dispersed with great slaughter. His lordship also expressed great satisfaction at the method which count Munich took in crossing rivers, even when the enemy was posted upon the opposite bank to obstruct his passage : but what his lordship admired most in this great man, was his conduct in furnishing so great an army with provisions for so long a march, which continued for above six months through waste countries, where he could find no provisions, and where he knew it was impossible for him to receive any convoy with such necessaries for his army : however, notwithstanding these countries have been, for some ages, in a manner depopulated ; yet, as the soil is naturally rich, the grass grew exceeding rank and tall ; which afforded sufficient pasture for all sorts of cattle,



cattle, though it was a little perished at the roots, by the winter snow and the summer heat. Besides, his lordship discovered all the oeconomy, as well as all the discretion and bravery, necessary for a general, in count Munich, whose carriages were drawn by oxen; so that, in case of scarcity, the cattle might serve for food, and the carriages for firing; but the demands of his army were calculated with such an exactitude, that, notwithstanding the length of his extensive march, and the number of men, there was always a plenty of provisions.

INDEED, the glory of marshal Munich is not to be shaded by the clouds of misfortune: the Russians, since the reign of Peter the great, have sprung up in military knowledge, as suddenly as the flowers and herbs of their own soil rise to their returning sun, which is spontaneous; or as their harvest, which is sown in April, and shoots up so fast as to require the sickle in August: but marshal Munich, while he commanded, was the sun of their army; whose lustre is not to be obscured by a severe banishment; whose setting radiance illumines the barren regions of Siberia; a country fit for the prison of an arbitrary monarch, and fatal to the great and brave: it was here the czar Peter sent the unhappy remnant of the Swedish army at Pultowa into perpetual slavery; they were even followed, in the succeeding reign, by his favourite general prince Menzikoff; general Biron, who had been elected duke of Courland, was sent there by the regent Anne, mother of John iii. and, when the czarina Elizabeth ascended the throne,



BOOK Biron was recalled, and count Munich sent there in his room;  
 II. which makes it necessary to say something of this extraordinary man, who was so intimate with the earl of Craufurd; and of whom it is hard to determine, whether his glory or misfortunes have rendered him most conspicuous in the eyes of mankind; whether his successes in war have made him more admired, than his banishment has caused him to be lamented.

COUNT Munich was a native of Oldenburg, in the circle of Westphalia, subject to the king of Denmark: he was always addicted to a military life, and had been several years in the Russian service, where his merit advanced him to the highest command. His successes in Poland in behalf of Augustus, and his reduction of Dantzick, in the year 1734, gave an additional reputation to the arms of Russia; which, under the conduct of such a general, were so formidable to the Turks as to make their emperor tremble amid the voluptuous pleasures of his seraglio. When Alexander invaded Persia, his army was greatly inferior to that of Darius; though their discipline made them superior to their numerous enemies: the Macedonians had no glittering golden armour, but bright and serviceable steel: they were fit for expedition, considering the lightness of their carriage; yet resolute and daring to stand the shock of a battle: an army wherein each soldier was apprehensive of the words, and very nods, of the commander; and which, for their number, wanted neither room nor provision in their camp. This is the character given of the Macedonian army; which, with equal justice, may be applied



applied to the Russians under general Munich: as might also CHAP. IV.  
what Caesar mentions of his own army, on his resolution to  
pass the Rhine to invade Germany; when he says, "that the  
name and opinion of the Roman army was so great, with the  
overthrow of Ariovistus, and the destruction of the Germans  
in their camp, that their fame sounded honourable among the  
remotest nations of Germany."

THE word imperator was the greatest title that could be  
conferred on a Roman leader; which was never given but  
upon some great exploit, and after a just victory obtained;  
when the general was saluted by the name of imperator, in  
the place where the battle was fought, with the triumphant  
shout of the whole army: by which acclamation the soldiers  
gave testimony of his worth, and made it equivalent with that  
of the most fortunate commanders. This title was due to  
marshal Munich, if the Russians had followed the examples  
of the Romans, who did not think every victory sufficient for  
such an honour, but required a certain number of the enemies  
to be slain, before they granted so great a mark of distinction;  
which, according to Appian, was ten thousand in one battle;  
though Cicero says, that two thousand slain in the place,  
especially of Thracians, Spaniards, or Gauls, sufficiently me-  
rited the name of imperator. But how different was the fate  
of this glorious commander? instead of entering a triumphant  
car, he was led to a mean dungeon; instead of being crown-  
ed with laurels as imperator, he was led to the scaffold as a  
malefactor; and, though he was saved from an ignominious  
death



BOOK death at Peterburgh; he was doomed to support a miserable  
II. life as an exile in Siberia: which further confirms, what experience has frequently proved, that men in their most flourishing fortune, and such as esteem themselves in the greatest security, even then fall soonest into disadventure; because those unsuspected dangers were contemned and disregarded: but the misfortunes of count Munich were occasioned as follows.

HE had honourably terminated the war with Turkey, and was joyfully received at Peterburgh, where he found most of the Russian nobility dissatisfied with the ascendancy which count Biron, then duke of Courland, had obtained over the czarina; for she appointed him regent during the minority of her successor, the young prince of Brunswic-Beveren, the son of her niece Anne, daughter of Catharine dutchess of Mecklembergh, who had a better right to the crown than the czarina, because she was her eldest sister, and had been deprived of that right on account of her husband, who had lost Mecklembergh by attempting to invade the privileges of his nobility. The duke of Courland endeavoured to make his regency as amiable as possible, by several acts of clemency and generosity; but the emperor was in his cradle, and the regent had the sole disposal of all dignities and employments; which drew on him the resentment of the princess Anne, mother to the young emperor, who had been artfully set aside from the succession, which occasioned her to form a conspiracy for the deposition of the regent.



COUNT Munich, and count Osterman, the great chancellor, who was likewise a Westphalian, frequently opposed the measures of the regent in council; who, in return, caused an enquiry to be made into the conduct of the feldt-marshal while he commanded against the Turks: but, instead of ruining the count, as he intended, he was obliged to give an account of his own conduct: for, on the 18th of November 1740, he was seized in his bed by marshal Munich, tried for high treason, and condemned to die: but he was only banished into Siberia, where he was confined with his brother, and some others, in a house built on purpose for their reception.

As count Munich had so great a share in this transaction, he was, at first, highly caressed by the regent the princess Anne of Brunswic Beveren, whose husband was appointed generalissimo of the forces: but the marshal soon found that the favourites of princes stand on slippery ground; being, in March following, removed from all his employments. The administration of the new regent was worse than what the Russians had found from the duke of Courland; so that a new conspiracy was formed in favour of the princess Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the great, who, on the 4th of December 1741, was seated in the imperial throne, without any bloodshed or resistance. The young emperor, with his father and mother, were permitted to retire into Germany: but the Counts Munich, Osterman, Golofkin, Mingden, and Lowenwold, were apprehended and tried for high treason, upon a charge "That, by the will of  
her



BOOK her mother, the empress Catharine, the czarina Elizabeth  
 H ought to have succeeded upon the death of Peter ii. her brother; but that, by the intrigues of these noblemen, the empress Anne had been advanced to the imperial dignity: That count Munich and count Osterman had prevailed upon the empress Anne, in her last illness, when she was quite weak, to appoint the lately deposed emperor John her successor: and that afterwards, notwithstanding they had sworn to observe the act for settling the regency with the duke of Courland, the prince and princess of Brunswick had, by the assistance of those noblemen, seized the government." Whereupon count Munich, and the other noblemen, received sentence of death, and were all conducted to the place of execution; where the feldt-marshal shewed as much serenity and bravery as when at the head of his victorious troops in Turkey: however, their lives were granted, and they were all banished into Siberia, where count Munich employed all his time in cultivating a little tract of land, for his subsistence and amusement, in that desolate and uncomfortable climate.

WHEN Perseus, king of Macedon, petitioned his conqueror, Paulus Emilius, the Roman said, "The most unhappy valour challenges a great respect even from enemies." What then must we say of the great and unhappy feldt-marshal Munich? What compassion is not due to the man who chastised the insolence of the Turks, and made the common enemies of Europe sensible that they had an antagonist capable of returning the rapacity of war? Alas! the man who once was thought to be seated



seated above the reach of calamity, and whose actions gained the applause of all Europe, is now levelled to the lowest state of misery, and excites pity from the same voices which were once employed in resounding his glories. He deserves the generous compassion of the great and brave! He had climbed the tree of honour; he had plucked its fairest fruit; and fell with the glorious burthen: to the ground, from whence he was unable to rise again: which verifies the observation of Plutarch, "That there is nothing either great or little, at this moment, that will hold so to all futurity; for nothing puts an end to the vicissitude of things, but what does so to their very existence."

MAGNITUDE cannot prevent casualties of inconvenience; nor can it give a privilege to free things from distemperature: men of large proportion are as subject to fevers, as others of lesser stature: great empires are as easily disturbed as the states of petty princes; and the man invested with magnificence at the head of an army, is liable to more danger than a simple peasant at the head of his flock: for it is less difficult to attain the end of high desires, than to keep it when procured; and better is the assurance of seeking, than of possessing. The unhappy situation of feldt-marshal Munich is like that of Marius, when he was banished Rome, and wandered destitute about Africa: his condition is worse than that of Hannibal, who, in his disgrace, had something reserved to him, the amity of Prusias, king of Bithynia, a pension and subsistence under him, with a command over his army. Flaminius incurred a general odium by being so instrumental to the death of so brave a man



BOOK as Hannibal ; and, perhaps, some of the Russian boyars may

II. be equally reproached for causing the banishment of count Munich, who can never have the opportunity of revenging himself like Marius, if it was in his nature to be guilty of the same acts of cruelty. This great general was as fortunate in war as prince Eugene, or the duke of Marlborough ; but afterwards as unfortunate as Parmenio, or Bellisarius : Parmenio was the first person who opened Alexander a way into Asia ; count Munich was the first general who led the Russians into Turkey : after having performed the offices of good commanders, with the experience of age, and the vigour of youth, the one was assassinated, and the other banished, by the orders of their sovereigns : but the death of the Macedonian, and the exile of the Russian general, were both regretted by their countrymen ; for the loss of a good foldier is a general loss to his nation : thus the death of Pompey drew tears from his enemy, when Cæsar reflected on the unfortunate end of that man who had obtained three triumphs, and been so many times consul ; and, perhaps, the czarina, who is remarkable for her clemency, may compassionate the calamity of her exiled general, and restore him to that command which he once so meritoriously enjoyed. Whatever may be the event of his banishment, it is to be hoped that this digression will be pardoned, when it is considered as a debt paid to the memory of that great commander, who directed the steps of the earl of Craufurd in the paths of military virtue, and who was respected by his lordship in the same manner as Fabius Maximus was by Marcus Cato ; not so much for the honour of his person and greatness of his power, as that he might set before him his particular worth and manner of life, for his study and imitation.



## BOOK III.

## CHAP. I.

The campaigns of 1739: containing, the journal of the campaign of Hungary, together with a general plan of the whole; which were both generously granted, for this work, by his most serene highness prince Charles of Lorrain: As also an account of the same campaign written by the earl of Craufurd, with a description of the battles of Krotzka and Pancsova; to which is added, a short detail of the Russian campaign, with his lordship's observations on the whole, and several plans drawn under the direction of his lordship.

THE French ambassador having made fresh instances CHAP. I.  
with the grand seignior to conclude a peace with the  
emperor of Germany and the czarina, was answered,  
“That it was in vain to negotiate on that head, unless the  
court of Vienna would yield up imperial Walachia, Orsova with  
its dependencies, and that part of Servia between the Morava  
and Timoch; while the court of Peterburgh should restore  
Asoph, and fulfil the treaty of Pruth:” for the abandoning of  
X. Oczakow



BOOK Oczakow was looked upon as nothing; since the Russians III. would not have retired from that place, if they had thought themselves able to keep it. The Ottoman ministry were determined to act with vigour on the side of Hungary in particular: they compelled men by force to enter into their armies, which is contrary to the Mahometan law: five bassas, who commanded, three of them in Hungary, and two on the Niester, were sent for to Constantinople, their conduct censured, the bow-string administered, and their bodies thrown into the sea: the grand vizir was deposed, and banished to an island in the Archipelago; while the selictar-aga, or sword-bearer, carried the seals of the empire to Ayvas Mehemmed, bashaw, Seraskier of Widin, who was appointed his successor; which promotion caused great joy among the Janizaries, as he was an experienced officer, and not of the same haughty violent disposition as his predecessor. So that the Turks seemed to act with as much severity against their own officers, as resolution against the enemy.

As to his imperial majesty, not a day passed but a grand council was held in his presence; and he appeared greatly embarrassed with the situation of affairs. The conditions insisted on by the Turks, he knew neither how to grant or to refuse: The two last campaigns were so unfavourable, that he dreaded a third; especially as he could not have immediate assistance from the Russian army, which, how much soever he wanted money, would have been more eligible; because the raw recruits that he could bring into Hungary, either for fear of the plague,



plague, or the enemy, deserted almost as fast as they arrived, or CHAP. died of the plague; and his veterans had suffered a great di- I. minution by the sword, the pestilence, or other casualties: however, his imperial majesty was assisted with some auxiliary troops from the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, which enabled him to open the campaign with 80,000 men, exclusive of militia. But, notwithstanding these succours, it was generally apprehended that the court of Vienna was inclinable for peace; for prince Lichtenstein, the imperial minister at Versailles, was heard to say, "That the emperor had not undertaken this war but at the solicitation of Russia: that he had done all he could to employ the Turks in Hungary; but it was impossible for him to foresee the fatal events which had befallen him: therefore, his imperial majesty was no longer in a condition to continue the war, and was under an absolute necessity of making a peace..

IN the mean time, count Munich was assembling his army in the neighbourhood of Kiow, with a design to cross through the territories of Poland, and lay siege to Chotzim; after which he intended to join prince Lobkowitz in Transylvania, and, with their united forces, to make a conquest of Moldavia: while Marshal Laschy renewed his invasion in the Crimea.

TOWARDS the end of December 1738, a detachment of five hundred Transylvanian hussars made an incursion into Moldavia, where they plundered and burnt several villages. Animated with this success, soon after, another party of hussars made



BOOK made a second incursion therein, and got such a considerable

III. booty, that when they divided it at their return, the share of each man amounted to one hundred ducats. About this time a numerous party of vagabonds having infested the neighbourhood of Temeswaer, general Lentulus marched with a detachment of regular troops in quest of them, and obtained a complete victory: but, as this detachment was returning, the rear guard, consisting of 300 hussars, was attacked by a body of 3000 Turks and Wallachians. The Hussars stood the attack bravely for some time; but, being overpowered by numbers, were, at length, obliged to fly, leaving fifty of their number dead on the spot, besides several more, either wounded, or taken prisoners. However, by the resolute stand they made, they gave the main body an opportunity to retire to Temeswaer, with their prisoners and booty: upon their retreat, the Turks burnt Werschnitza, one of the largest towns in the Bannat; massacred many of the inhabitants, and carried the rest into slavery.

BUT of all the skirmishes which happened before the armies took the field, that of Kutschay was the most considerable. The inhabitants of that country having withdrawn their allegiance from the Turks, and put themselves under the protection of the emperor; the bashaw of Petsky was sent, with a body of 6000 men, to chastise them. This brave people being informed of his march, without the assistance of any regular troops, determined to defend themselves, and accordingly lay in ambush, among the defiles of their mountains: when



when the bashaw not expecting to meet with any opposition, CHAP.  
marched on furiously, and fell into the snare, by which rash L  
conduct, both he, and most of his troops, were cut to pieces.

THE emperor having acquainted count Wallis, that he intended to appoint him general in chief during the ensuing campaign, the count answered, "that, before he could accept of the honour, his imperial majesty designed for him, he must insist upon the following conditions: that no officer, from the highest to the lowest, should, under any pretence whatsoever, not even that of sickness excepted, absent himself from the army without his permission: that the hospitals and magazines should be supplied with all necessaries; and that every regiment should be supplied with expert surgeons." From whence it may be conjectured there was a deficiency in all these respects during the preceding campaigns; and to this, probably, the ill success of them was owing; though the first was thrown upon count Seckendorf.

THESE conditions being premised, the marshal received his commission with the most ample instructions, so as to march wherever he should think proper, and to give battle when he pleased. On his arrival at Belgrade, he went to visit the magazines; and in one magazine for corn, he scarcely found one third of the quantity specified in the account delivered by the commissaries general: in another of powder he found the greatest part of it was of a very bad quality: whereupon the commissaries, who had the particular direction of these magazines,



BOOK magazines, were seized; and, not being able to justify themselves, were both hanged up immediately, as an example to others, to be more careful of what was committed to their charge: after which the marshal began to take measures for opening the campaign; for which purpose orders had been sent to the troops to march to their encampments appointed for them near Peterwaradin, where the marshal reviewed his army; when he said to a friend near him; “I hope to avoid  
 “the fate of the counts Seckendorf and Konigseg; but if  
 “affairs should not take a happier turn than they promise,  
 “the favour I would ask of heaven is, to have the fate of  
 “count Merci.”

THE earl of Craufurd, accompanied with several other general officers, departed from Comorra about the middle of April, and joined the imperial troops, as they were assembling at Peterwaradin, in which neighbourhood the whole army was encamped about the beginning of June. The Turks were successful on the side of Hungary, where the battle of Krotzka gave them Belgrade, and compelled the emperor to accept of a separate peace; at a time when count Munich was victorious in Moldavia: so that the Russian general, instead of pursuing his march, and joining the Imperialists, was obliged to return and gather fresh laurels in Bessarabia, where he reduced the whole province, and severely chastised the insolence of the Tartars. But the following relations of the campaign are too valuable to be omitted, or abridged: the first marked Number I. was obtained from his most serene highness prince Charles  
 of



of Lorrain, together with the plan of the whole campaign, CHAP.  
to illustrate this work, and honour the memory of the earl of I.  
Craufurd, for whom his highness had a great regard, as  
his lordship was his early companion in military adventures :  
and the second, marked Numb. II. is an account of the tran-  
sactions of this campaign, drawn up by the earl of Craufurd,  
with his own observations thereon.



## NUMBER I.

The journal of all the motions made by the imperial and Turkish armies, from the opening of the campaign in 1739, until the peace of Belgrade: together with a plan of operations; both drawn up by the direction of his royal highness prince Charles of Lorrain; and the former interspersed with particular observations, relative to the earl of Craufurd, by an officer of his acquaintance.

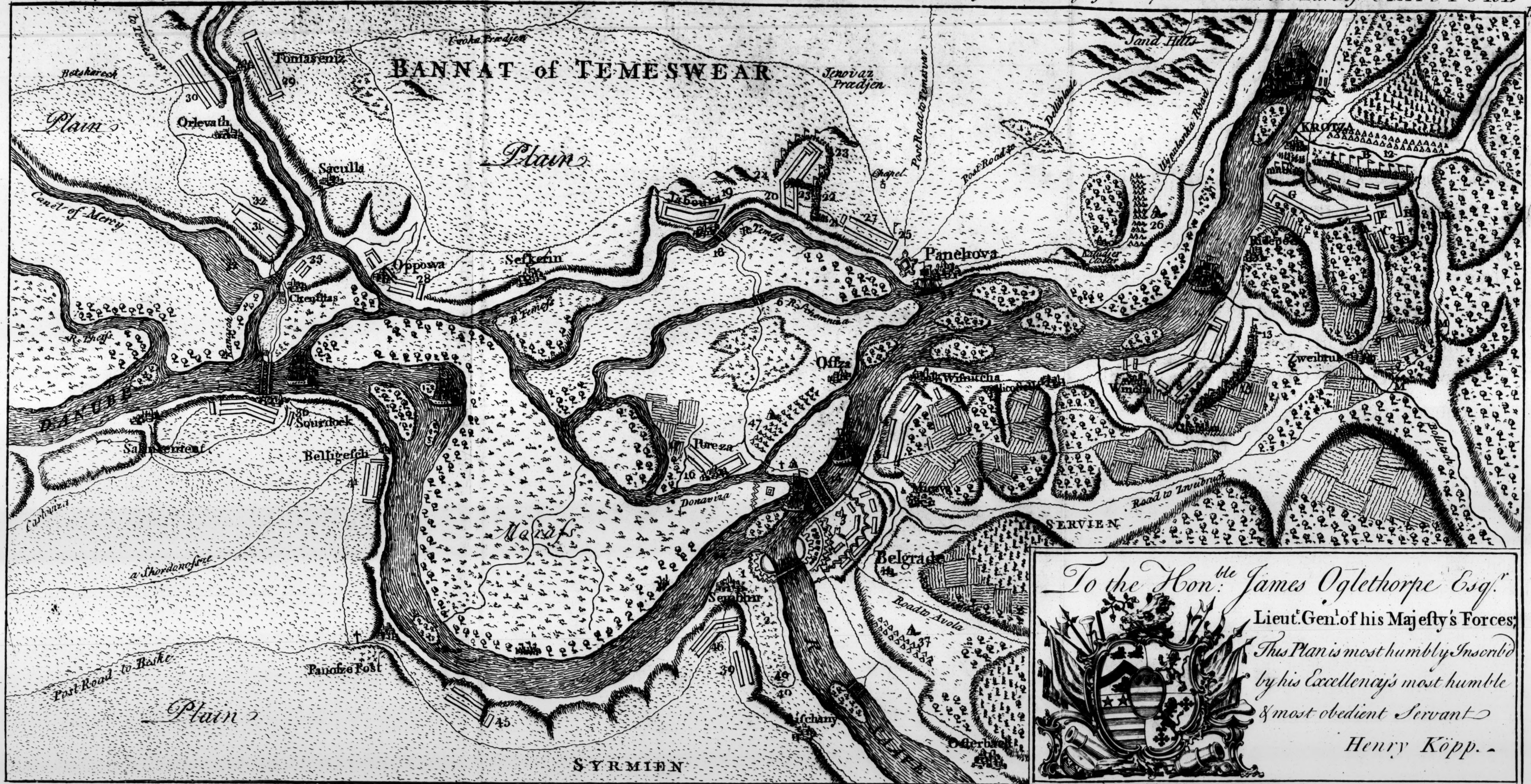
BOOK  
III.

**H**IS imperial majesty having appointed the count Oliver Wallis, marshal, to command his army against the Ottomans; orders were issued forth, from the council of war, to all the generals nominated to serve that campaign, to direct the troops under their respective commands, to rendezvous near Peterwaradin on the river Saave, and from thence to proceed to operation. Accordingly, the regiments as they arrived, both horse and foot, took their ground and encamped; the right wing near Peterwaradin; and the left nigh Kamnitza on the Danube: the horse being ordered towards Cubilla and Kotzh for their better subsistence.



A PLAN granted by his Serene Highness Prince CHARLES of LORRAIN for the Embellishment of this Work in honour of the Memory of his departed Friend the Earl of CRAUFURD

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To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> James Oglethorpe Esq.  
 Lieut. Gen<sup>l</sup> of his Majesty's Forces  
 This Plan is most humbly Inscribed  
 by his Excellency's most humble  
 & most obedient Servant  
 Henry Köpp.



“THE earl of Craufurd, who was now universally known, and as much regarded by all the imperial generals, was one of the foremost in the field; where he particularly attached himself to his illustrious friend the prince of Waldeck, lieutenant general of the infantry; who, on the 6th of June, was ordered to break off with his brigade to encamp the same day at Shardanofze, the 7th at Bellegish, and the 8th at Semlin or Zemblin; to which camp the rest of the army followed successively, and occupied the grounds assigned to them by the quarter-masters general, Gramlick and Callaghan. The cavalry were immediately ordered to march over the bog, called Peludish, for the convenience of water: for though the high flats near Semlin lie along the Danube; the banks of this river are so very steep on that side, as to render the access of the water extremely difficult; and the hollow cuts, made probably by the Romans, are so very remote from each other, that though the tents of a regiment may be within forty yards, nay even on the very brink of the river, yet, in some places, it is two miles, or more, to come at the water.

“THE army stayed in camp till the 26th; because the high inundation, as marked No. 1. in the plan, prevented our march sooner. The 27th, the army marched over the second Peludish, No. 2. and entered into the camp marked in the lines of Belgrade, No. 3. where it remained till the 17th of July. But the night before the army marched from Semlin, a hurricane suddenly rose about ten o'clock, which blew down all the great  
Y tents,



Book tents, and most of the barracks: the strongest man in the  
 III. army was obliged to lay hold of something for his support; the futlers empty barrels were tost backwards and forwards by the velocity of the wind, which even put coaches and carts into motion. As the army was to march at three o'clock in the morning, his lordship, and most of the officers, were in bed when this happened: but the hurricane did not continue above ten minutes, when the tents were erected again; while his lordship sat round a little fire, in the open air, with prince Waldeck, prince Birkenfield, and several other officers, who were laughing at each other, diverting themselves with the different relations of what had happened to them during the hurricane. In the mean time we received, as auxiliary troops from Bavaria, four battalions, four companies of grenadiers, and eight pieces of artillery; as also a regiment of Bavarian dragoons; which then made the army consist of fifteen regiments of horse, or one hundred and five squadrons; forty-eight battalions; and forty-nine companies of grenadiers, not including the body of 12,000 men under the command of general count Neuperg who was still in the Bannat of Temeswaer.

“ON the 17th of July, the army broke up from the camp of Belgrade, and took that of Witznitza No. 4.

“DURING our long stay at Belgrade, the commanding general had several intelligences from the Turkish army: but as he trusted to spies, who are as venal on the one side as on the other,



other, he never had an exact account of their force, nor even CHAP. I. of their situation. Admiral Pallavicini had a fine fleet of large men of war on the Danube, well manned and armed; which protected our communication with the Bannat; and as the army marched on the 17th, the fleet covered our right wing, which in the camp of Witzniza reached the Danube. The earl of Craufurd, who was ready for water service as well as land, frequently visited general Pallavicini, and offered him his service: there were several knights who came from Malta, with two hundred able seamen on board; and though these ships cannot be wrought on a river as on the sea, yet they are of great use against the Turks; because they hinder the Turkish small vessels, called Shaicks, from running up among the several islands of this great river.

“HOWEVER, we had an account that the grand vizir was the 18th on the Morava, a river which flows into the Danube not far from Semendria: upon which intelligence the commanding general, count Wallis, ordered the army to be ready to march; but he detached the major general count Carraffa, with eleven squadrons of carabineers, over the Danube, on the Schemniza river, No. 6. to protect that side; and one thousand pioneers to strike a bridge over the Borza, for the better communication, and for the facility of Neuperg's joining the army, who was daily expected.

“As this was the first detachment sent out from the army, which had the appearance of meeting some party of the enemy,

Y 2 my,



Book my, the lord Craufurd went directly and marched off with  
III. general Carraffa.

“ THE 19th a camp was marked at Winscha No. 7; so disposed that the army had the Danube behind, the left flank parallel with a brook called Polletch, which at that place falls into the Danube, where there were two men of war to cover the wing: the height behind the village, called Ridspech, which likewise protected our left wing, was immediately beset with artillery: and, on the 20th, the imperial army seized this camp, where the grand front had a fair plain before it, with an easy descent; and the right wing had a precipice to cover it from all insults, as marked No. 8.

“ CARRAFFA, who finished the expedition he was sent on, rejoined the army on the 20th; and the earl of Craufurd hearing that general Bernclau was to set out that evening to reconnoitre the enemy, he immediately, as well as several other volunteers, offered to march with him. This detachment took the nighest road towards Krotzka; where, according to several reports sent by general Pallavicini, from the fleet, the van guard of the Ottoman army had already taken post; and, as this situation is easily defended by the first occupier, count Wallis intended to prevent the grand vizir coming forward to it with his grand army: he was the easier inclined to march thither, because general Bernclau, who returned in the morning of the 21st, reported that the Turks were not above eight thousand strong at Krotzka: on which marshal Wallis ordered the



the whole army to march the same evening, without waiting CHAP.  
for count Neuperg, who was to join him with his corps the I.  
next day. I.

“GENERAL Bernclau was mistaken in his report; the earl of Craufurd, who was the first that discovered the enemy in the church-yard at Krotzka, and attacked a small post they had on a little hill, about two hundred paces from the church, told general Bernclau then, “that he was of opinion, it was impossible to judge of the strength of the enemy, by what they could see; inasmuch as the several hills and valleys in the neighbourhood, might cover some thousands of men, impossible for them to discover, even were it clear day.” Four cuirassiers, who, with the earl of Craufurd, had attacked the first little post the Turks had, as before-mentioned, advanced into the church-yard, where his lordship briskly followed, and was soon joined by about fifty horse volunteers and others; which caused the Turks to retire as well out of the church, as out of the village, and get quite over the brook of Krotzka. Had general Bernclau held his ground, instead of making a noise with kettle drums and trumpets, and retiring back to marshal Wallis, it is probable the Ottomans would have retired entirely to Semendria, where they must have attacked us with greater disadvantages than we did them at Krotzka; for they were resolved to give battle, and the choice of ground is a battle at least half won.

“THE earl of Craufurd gave one of the troopers a horse, instead of one that was wounded under him; and to each of  
the



BOOK the other three he gave six ducats, as an emulative encourage-  
III. ment; and, indeed, he was so beloved and esteemed by our  
foldiers, that they thought no danger could happen where he  
led; for they had as high an opinion of his prudence, as of  
his valour, which was almost too much: however, the army  
began to march, about ten o'clock in the evening of the 21st  
of July, directly to Zweybruck, as marked No. 9. and in the  
following order.

“ A FEW Rascians, who were always posted in the woods  
and coverts, only as spies, were ordered to advance: next  
came on the two hussar regiments, who were ordered to keep  
one thousand paces before the head of the army: next follow-  
ed John Palfi's regiment of cuirassiers, and Savoy dragoons;  
where the commanding general had taken his post, and with  
him was the earl of Craufurd, baron Darneim a Saxon major  
general, and several aid de camps: next came on the young  
prince of Waldeck, with nine companies of foot grenadiers, and  
two pieces of cannon: then Lanthieri, a cuirassier regiment,  
and Phillippi's dragoons: these were followed by major general  
Moravitzk, a Bavarian officer, with nine other foot grenadier  
companies, and two field pieces: the whole of these troops  
marching on the road towards Krotzka in one column, and  
indeed without necessity. While the head of the army made a  
long halt at Zweybruck, waiting for the foot from the right  
wing of the camp of Winscha, the earl of Craufurd, who had  
seen the ground in the morning, and who was now sitting by  
marshal Wallis on the side of the road, in a very modest polite  
manner,



manner, acquainted the marshal, "that he was of opinion, CHAP. I.  
the whole vanguard should be grenadiers and foot; the ground  
being very improper for horse to draw up:" to which the  
commanding general made this reply, "I expect the horse  
shall act like the foot; and I want expedition; for at Krotzka  
*beati possidentes*;" of which he indeed felt the strength a few  
hours after.

"NEXT came on the rest of the cavalry of the right wing;  
as Carraffa, Sehr, Hohenzollern, Bernes, Charles Palfi, and  
Hohenembs, cuirassiers, each seven squadrons: Preissing, and  
Altham dragoons; also seven squadrons each. Marshal  
Wallis, uneasy, after waiting a considerable time for the ar-  
rival of the infantry, marched forward, before they had joined;  
and about the middle way, between Zweybruck and Krotzka,  
he made a second halt; but still in vain: for the infantry, at  
its breaking out of the camp of Winfcha, was misled, and took  
the road towards Belgrade, instead of following the van-guard.  
It is to be remembered that the hussars were ordered to march  
one thousand paces before the head of the van-guard; and,  
at the second halt, it is to be supposed that they received no  
orders to halt; so they advanced, and came into an ambuscade;  
from whence they received a brisk volley, and were dispersed.

"THIS first fire was about half an hour after two in the  
morning: on which marshal Wallis immediately ordered the  
cavalry to trot on; and, about twelve minutes after three, as  
Savoy's regiment advanced, where the marshal was then posted,  
a body



BOOK a body of Janizaries, that had bordered the deep thick hedges  
III. on the left side of the road, made a most terrible fire on the  
flank of this regiment; which continued for six or seven  
minutes, and put the regiment in disorder. This occasioned  
the marshal to take post at the head of John Palfi's regiment,  
which galloped valiantly on, and attacked the enemy, at the  
head of a defile, which leads into a steep hollow way, driving  
those they met with into the little plain near the village of  
Krotzka; but this plain being surrounded with hills, they  
were soon covered with Spahis and Janizaries. This action  
passing on the height marked by the letter B.

“AT the descent of the beforementioned hollow way, the earl  
of Craufurd was rushed into the plain, by a troop of carabineers  
who had pushed forwards; and, fighting with them, his fa-  
vourite horse was shot dead under him. Marshal Sehr fol-  
lowed with the remainder of the horse; but, as he was obliged  
to defile and attack by detaile, the enemy soon defeated each  
small troop they met with: so that the cavalry were repulsed,  
and drove back to the height marked C. upon which the com-  
manding general ordered count Luchesi, then colonel, and  
general adjutant, to seize the hill marked D. which general  
Luchesi immediately performed with great valour and conduct;  
having but about three hundred horse, and baron Kleinholtz,  
then major of Carraffa's regiment, with him; who attacked  
and straight defeated a body of Turkish horse, which were  
certainly six times his number, and were drove into the village  
of Krotzka. Count Luchesi was followed by general Dollone,  
who



who led Hohenzollern's regiment and a few hussars. But, CHAP. I.  
this gallant action performed by Carraffa and Hohenzollern's  
men not being seconded, these brave people were forced to  
retire; and in this retreat Count Luchesi saw the earl of  
Craufurd lying like a dead man on the ground; whereupon  
he instantly ordered a few grenadiers of the prince of Waldeck's  
nine companies to carry off his bleeding friend, in hopes to  
save his life; which the grenadiers willingly performed.

“MEAN while, the prince of Hilburghausen arrived with  
the foot, and took post on the ground marked E. where the  
right wing, commanded by his serene highness prince Charles  
of Lorrain, was placed; and the ground being very advan-  
tageous for foot, the Ottomans brought the most of their forces  
to their left, making several attempts on his highness, even  
frequently sword in hand: but in vain; the prince gained  
ground, instead of losing: he was valiantly seconded by the  
prince of Waldeck with the battalions under his command;  
and also by lieutenant general count Leopold Daun.

“THESE battalions of the right wing, having stood ten  
hours fire, were extremely weakened; and, not one general,  
or field officer, of prince Charles's wing, escaped a wound; se-  
veral being killed at the first attack, on the break of day, when  
the earl of Craufurd was wounded: lieutenant general  
Witorf, major general Carraffa, and the prince of Hesse, also  
a major general, were killed: count Bertold, colonel of James  
Palfi's,



BOOK Palfi's, the lieutenant colonel, the major, and six captains of  
 III. the same regiment were also killed or lost.

“AND now, about eleven o'clock, the grand vizir had placed his large tent on a hill near the Danube, not far from the village of Krotzka: soon after two swarms of Janizaries were sent along the ridge of hills, in order probably to cut us off from the river, as is seen by the letter F; on which the brigades stood, under the command of the lieutenant general the prince of Salm and the baron Thungen; whose brigades then took post on the height marked G, and formed a flank fronting the Danube; behind the centre of this flank stood three battalions of Wurtzburg, and Du Hautoi's regiment of cuirassiers; Altham's regiment of dragoons being posted, as is seen by the letter K, to cover the right flank. During the action, the men of war had cannonaded from No. 10, the enemy's battery No. 11. The enemy, hourly encreasing, formed their grand body No. 12. About noon, the general count Neuperg came up with four regiments of horse; the rest of his corps having halted and encamped at Winscha. The fire began at this battle with the break of day, and lasted till night; when it was ordered that the army should retire, being covered by a strong rear-guard; to take the same road back again, and each regiment to occupy the same ground it was before on at the camp of Winscha.

“THE 23d of July, as soon as day, the army was formed in order of battle, as it stood in camp: the Turkish army  
 was



was presently up before our front, and drawn up as No. 13. CHAP. they even charged our grand guards and van post; but, having L reconnoitred our situation, the grand vizir retired back, by Zweybruck, to Krotzka.

“THE same day, the imperial army broke out from the camp of Winscha, marching in three columns by Mirava, and encamped within the lines of circumvalation at Belgrade, No. 3. where the army rested the next day. The 25th, in the morning, the Turkish army appeared on the high grounds before our front, and had several skirmishes with our van posts, which lasted the whole day: in the evening, the quarter-masters generals were ordered to pass the Danube over the bridge No. 14. and trace a camp for the army in the Bannat of Temeswaer No. 16. The regiments that were ordered to pass the river Saave, as also the wounded and marode, had new orders to pass over the bridge No. 15. and encamp at No. 16. wherein the imperial army encamped the 26th, being formed in order; the right wing of the first line reaching the lake marked No. 17; the front towards the little river Donawika; and the left wing forming a flank whose front was to the river Borza; the second line making its front towards the Schimmitza.

“ON the 26th of July, the grand vizir, with his whole army, advanced towards Belgrade, encamping within, and without, the famous lines about this fortress.



## BOOK

## III.

“ON the 27th, the imperial army remained in its camp at Borza, and the same day a detachment of two regiments of hussars, two of horse, and four companies of grenadiers, with four field pieces, were commanded to the Schimnitza and Temes, two small rivers, to cover the communication by the bridge No. 18. as also to chase the enemy that had already passed the Borza, near Ofza. The same night, the imperial army marched forward, and passed the river Temes by Jabuka, where the Ottomans had already taken post, but were easily drove away; for as soon as the imperial army had passed the Temes, it was formed in order of battle; where our hussars, and other volunteers, diverted themselves in skirmishing with some of the Turkish cavalry.

“THIS camp was a fair field of battle; but the enemy declined attacking; the left wing being covered by a redoubt No. 19. The army remained here the 29th, and on the 30th marched in the same order as it was in camp; the right wing being close on the high banks of the Temes, as is to be seen by No. 20; and the left wing covered by an artificial flank; which thus marching on, in an oblong, was met near Panczova, by a body of 16,000 Spahis, as marked No. 21. The Turks had formed three troops, as No. 21. 22. and 23. the middle troop No. 22. advanced boldly and attacked two regiments of our horse, as is seen by No. 23. and broke quite through at once; where several of our people were sabred, and killed. This first irruption fought for some minutes between



between the lines, and broke through the second line of our army; while the troop No. 23. advanced like a wedge, as the first did, and rushed with incomparable swiftness and valour on our left wing; but were as briskly repulsed by the fire of this wing, commanded by the prince of Hilburghausen; on which the repulsed Turks, galloped round before our left flank, and fell in the rear of the army at No. 24. where they met with the same reception: but some grooms, and others behind the line, at No. 24. were cut to death by some Spahis, who galloped forward to the head quarter, and made some havock, but were stopped by the party detached to guard the baggage; whereupon the Ottomans retired, in confusion, to their camp at Panczova, No. 25; which they instantly struck down, and marched back in haste towards the convent, behind the wood, as marked No. 26. The imperial army advanced to the Turkish abandoned camp, and was formed in order of battle; in which order it remained until the camp No. 27. was traced; where the army entered the 31st of July, and remained till the 2d of August; from whence it marched on the 23d, and took the same camp it had left at Jabuka No. 19. where it remained till the 6th. The same day, the camp was marked at Oppova No. 28. and, on the 7th of August, the army marched thither; from whence it departed, on the 8th, and encamped at Domasowitz, No. 29. the Temes behind the army, and both wings covered by flanks.

"No



## BOOK

## III.

“No sooner was the army encamped, but the artillery and heavy baggage began to pass over the new erected bridge. On the 9th, the army passed the Temes in three columns, and took the camp No. 30; the Temes before the front; when the pontoons and copper bridges were broke down. The army rested in this camp the 10th, and on the 11th marched and encamped at Centa, No. 31; where the left wing reached an inaccessible bog, No. 32; the right wing reached a work made to cover our bridge on the Danube; six battalions being posted on the hill marked No. 33, which afterwards were ordered to march and reinforce the garrison of Belgrade.

“ON the 12th, we had an account that three of our men of war were cut off from the rest at the mouth of the Temes No. 34, which were manned by Maltese failors, and commanded by knights of Malta, who, seeing no hopes of escape, blew up the ships by setting fire to the powder rooms, and retired as they could through bogs and rivers, and got on board the other ships near Belgrade, No. 35.

“THE army remained in the camp of Centa till the 14th, when the quarter-masters generals and their troops passed the Danube at Sordock, and marked a new camp near that place, where lieutenant general Romer, had taken post to cover the bridge some days before, with six regiments of horse, as is to be remarked



remarked by No. 36. These six regiments of horse serving CHAP. III  
as a flank to the army afterwards.

“ ON the 15th of August, the army marched over the new bridge and crossed a bog, which, with the breadth of the Danube, required a bridge of two thousand paces long. The 19th we had an account that a body of 16,000 Bosniacs, under the command of the great bashaw of Bosnia, had taken post on the Saave, not far from Belgrade, at No. 37; where they had already thrown over two bridges into the Jibsy-island; their design being to cut off our communication with Belgrade by Semlin, in taking post at No. 38. Upon this intelligence, it was ordered, on the 20th, that the prince of Hilburghausen should march with the left wings of both lines of the army, consisting of eight regiments of horse and seventeen battalions, with the necessary artillery; which marched by Panofze not far from Pizziani; where they encamped on the height No. 39; immediately bordering the Saave with troops, and erecting several bridges of communication over the bog at No. 40; to the end, that if the enemy had quite passed the river, that the Imperialists might advance in a large front, to attack and repulse them: but the Turks thought fit to abandon their works; and on the 24th of August, the imperial army marched, and encamped at Bellegith, No. 41; where general Schmettau arrived, being sent from Vienna to partake in the command of the army.

“ DURING



## BOOK

## III.

“ DURING all these marches, the Turks continued the siege of Belgrade; where they destroyed several houses, but had no effect as to a breach. Lieutenant general Succow, who was commandant in the town, had made all preparations for a long defence; while the Ottomans began to want forage, and became discouraged; because several of their Asiatic troops, who are engaged to serve six months in the field to finish the campaign, talked already of returning home to their wives; for the Turks admit of no women to the field.

“ FROM the camp of Bellegish, the commanding general Wallis sent three hundred pioneers, and a captain towards Belgrade, in small boats on the Danube: the boat wherein the captain was with ten men was attacked by a party ambushed, not far from the isle near Belgrade, and taken prisoners; he had also ninety boatmen with him, who were all, as well as the three hundred pioneers, carried into the Turkish camp, after a loss of seven men killed, by No. 42.

“ ON the 26th of August, the Hali bashaw attacked a redoubt on the confluence of the river Borza, opposite the city of Belgrade, where lieutenant colonel Grady, an Irish officer, commanded three hundred men; who, after sustaining several attacks against 30,000 Turks, kept his ground, and beat them off; though they threw two hundred bombs into that small redoubt, which was built a few days before, and only of earth: but, as colonel Grady had several oak planks, the



the bombs did no great damage; however, had they remained till the next day, they must have wanted subsistence, and have been obliged to surrender; which was prevented on the 29th, by general Schmettau, who passed the Danube with nineteen battalions, in order to raise the siege of the redoubt, which he judged necessary to be sustained; because if that fort, or redoubt, was taken, the men of war must quit their station on the Danube, not being able to resist the batteries from the shore; while the Turkish shaiks, or small vessels, would rush on that side of the town of Belgrade, along the Danube, which was quite open, and pour into the town any number of men they pleased: besides, he urged, that to expose so brave a man as Grady, and his troops that behaved so well, to be lost in a second attack, which must happen, if not sustained, was against all humanity. But, on the appearance of these nineteen battalions and five hundred horse, the Turks entirely abandoned the siege of the redoubt, and retired to the grand vizir's camp: while marshal Schmettau made a line of circumvalation well intrenched, and posted two thousand men to defend the redoubt; after which, he withdrew to the camp from whence he had departed. By this disposition, we had communications with Belgrade, as well from Sirmia, as from the Bannat: and we refreshed the garrison in Belgrade, as a simple guard may be relieved.

“ ON the 26th of August, his highness prince Charles of Lorrain advanced with ten battalions, and ten companies of grenadiers, with two regiments of horse, and took his camp

A a

near



BOOK near Panofze No. 45. The 28th, marshal Wallis followed  
III. with the rest of the army; which, on the 30th, encamped  
on the famous plains of Semlin.

“ ON the 1st of September, there was no further noise of bombs or cannons; at which time, there were three Ottoman armies; one on the Borza, No. 47; another on the Saave, No. 37; and the grand vizir with the grand army before Belgrade, against which the Turks fired thirty-five days without making the least breach, nor having done any notable damage, except to the roofs of some houses; when count Neuperg, who was some days before as plenipotentiary in the Turkish camp, concluded the peace with the grand vizir, under the French mediation; which terminated the campaign, and the war on the side of Hungary.”



NUMBER II.

A description of the battle of Krotzka ; with the sequel of the campaign, containing an account of the battle of Panczova ; as also of the campaign between the Russian and Ottoman armies : to which is added a recapitulation, for connection sake, of the situation of the Roman imperial army before the fatal 22d of July 1739, when the battle of Krotzka was fought : with observations on the whole. By the late earl of Craufurd.

“ A F T E R having inactively let pass the month of May ; CHAP. I.  
the greatest part of the imperial infantry were assembled  
in one camp, betwixt Peterwaradin and Grannewitz, where  
they continued encamped, without any great alterations, till  
the 6th of June ; when prince Waldeck was detached, with  
the left wing of the infantry, to take possession of a new  
camp at Semlin : where, waiting the arrival of the rest of the  
army, the precious time, betwixt the 9th and 27th of June,  
was again lost : but for what reason heaven knows, if we in-  
tended



BOOK tended to march further than Belgrade, at all. The interval  
 III. betwixt the 27th of June and the 17th of July, past in the  
 lines of that place; when our general feldt-marshal count  
 Wallis, as it is reported, at last, had permission, and thought  
 proper to march from thence, for the camp of Witfnitza,  
 without feldt \*zeug-master Neuperg's corps, consisting of  
 about 12,000 men: where, after resting two days, the army  
 continued its march; taking up the camp of Winscha as  
 marked letter A. in the 1st plan, † between three and four  
 leagues from the avant-guard of the enemy which was then  
 encamped at Krotzka, as marked letter B. in the 1st plan, and  
 advanced about five or six leagues before the whole Ottoman  
 army, of 100,000 men, very lately assembled near Semendria  
 on the western side of the Morava; upon whose banks we  
 ought to have been long before, if we intended to act  
 offensively.

“ ON our arrival in the camp of Winscha, marked letter  
 C. in the 1st plan, major general Bernclau was ordered, the  
 same evening, to march with a detachment of eight hundred  
 cavalry, eight companies of grenadiers, three hundred hussars,

\* Zeug-master, in the imperial service, is the general of the artillery; signifying  
 the same as master of the ordnance in England.

† The several plans mentioned by his lordship in this account, are annexed at  
 the end of these memoirs.

and



and three hundred Rascians, under the command of their chief Stanietza; the whole to take post at Krotzka, if possible; but, at any rate, to bring certain information how formidable the enemy might be there. Accordingly this detachment marched, taking its rout by tracts, or bye-roads, through the woods, lying betwixt the great road and the Danube, till they reached an advantageous post, at a proper distance from Krotzka; where, after posting the regular troops to secure his retreat, the general marched, with the same hussars and Rascians, till he arrived upon the high grounds above the before-mentioned village in possession of the enemy; whither he detached twenty-five hussars, supported by twenty-five more, to learn, if possible, the force, and situation, of the enemy; with order to retreat immediately on a charge being sounded, by a couple of trumpets properly situated; which, probably, had the desired effect, in making the enemy believe a more formidable corps was in motion to attack them; whereby they allowed the hussars to retreat, after having pierced into the very heart of the village, and mixt with the enemy, of whom two, or three, were seen to fall; and the hussars brought off two of their horses tolerably well harnessed; giving, at the same time, the alarm, as may be easily imagined; which soon conveyed itself from the village into their camp, overlooking the same, as marked letter D, in the first plan, where the Turks instantly resounded it from all quarters, in their noisy manner; so intimating to us, a tolerable just notion of their force, which we supposed to be, as near as we could judge, betwixt 8 and 10,000 men; who certainly would soon have



BOOK have decamped, had our force then been sufficient under the  
III. protection of our fleet, in the morning, when the enemy  
could see round us, to maintain, what we certainly would  
have made them abandon: which the bashaw, here on command,  
justly observing; and judging if it did not happen this morning,  
it might throughout the day, or the following night; therefore,  
with the greatest expedition, he gave intelligence of what had  
happened to the grand vizir commanding at Semendria; beg-  
ging of him, without delay, a considerable reinforcement;  
least, as he expected, he should be attacked, and obliged to  
abandon that important post: upon which the grand vizir,  
foreseeing it was very possible, instantly detached a powerful  
body of cavalry, that the bashaw might be the more expe-  
ditiously sustained; following with much celerity himself, at  
the head of the whole army, making all the Janizaries take  
the lead, with orders to hasten their march, in the highest  
degree, that they might so suddenly pass the defiles near  
Krotzka, as to give the rest of their army, artillery, and  
baggage, a free passage to get through, before the arrival of  
the Roman imperial fleet, which, to the greatest degree ima-  
ginable, could molest their defiling; as also, in order to  
occupy all the advantageous posts before our army could come  
up: which orders were so expeditiously executed, that, before  
day-break, on the 22d in the morning, an ambuscade of  
Janizaries was placed in the vineyards, to the right and left  
of those defiles our army could only march through, which  
had quitted the camp of Winscha, leaving our tents standing,  
and fires burning, the better to disguise our march, under  
guard



guard of Toulon's regiment of dragoons, till the arrival of CHAP. Neuperg's corps, who had orders to join the same camp, on I. the 22d in the morning; while we, as it was generally imagined, dislodged the avant-guard of the enemy, without great trouble, from Krotzka.

“ To effectuate which, general Pallavicini, with the five of the seven ships of war, as marked letter E. in the 1st plan, divided into two squadrons, (whereof the Maltese commanded one, forming their avant-guard) had fallen down the Danube, and lay there opportunely off the said place, in order to proceed as he should receive orders, or the success of the army could sustain him, which marched from Winscha, on the 21st about ten o'clock at night, after the following manner, as shewn by letter F. in the 1st plan.

“ 1st. IT was strictly enjoined that all foragers, stragglers, and others, should be in the camp by prayer-time.

“ 2d. THAT all the regiments should be provided with powder and ball.

“ 3d. THAT on the retreat cannon being fired, the whole army should prepare to march, leaving their heavy baggage behind, and so many of their bad marchers as the baggage might require for its guard; which was desired to be as few in number as possible, since Toulon's regiment of dragoons was left to guard it.

“ 4th,



## BOOK

## III.

“ 4th. THAT a drum of each regiment should be left behind to beat as usual, and to take care the fires should be kept burning.

“ 5th. THAT each regiment should order a sutler to follow; but that both the sutlers and the pack horses which the generals might carry along with them, should follow the regiment of Altham, which was to bring up the rear of the army, to be led by three hundred Rascians, two regiments of hussars, John Palfi's regiment of cuirassiers, Savoy's regiment of dragoons, colonel prince Waldeck, with nine companies of grenadiers, Lantier's regiment of cuirassiers, Philippi's regiment of dragoons, general Moravisty with nine companies more of grenadiers, and all who composed the avant-guard of the infantry, or body of the army; who, after passing the bridge at Zweybruck, preceded by all the remains of the cavalry not otherwise mentioned, on command followed the foresaid avant-guard along the same rout as expeditiously as possible in two columns, as follows;

First line,

Or one column.

Two cannons;

Frantz Lorrain;

Seckendorf.

Two cannons;

Maroli.

Two



# JOHN Earl of CRAWFORD.

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CHAP.

I.

Two cannons,

Heister,

Goldi.

Two cannons,

Platz,

Wirtzburg.

Two cannons.

Molck,

Wurmbrand.

Two cannons,

Schmettau.

Two cannons,

Chur Bayern,

Chur Cullen.

Two cannons,

Young Daun,

Old Daun.

Two cannons.

Second line,

Or the other column.

Westphaly,

Konigseck.

Two cannons,

Ogilve,

Walfegg.

Two cannons,

Brown,

B b

Modena,



BOOK  
III.

Modena,  
Dungen,  
Carl Lorrain,  
Max Hefsen,  
Bayern, and  
Cullen.

“ AT the head of each column, there marched a captain, with sixty pioneers and forty hatchet men, who were taken from the whole line ; and each battalion had orders to have one lieutenant and fifteen men to march on their head, with instructions, so soon as they, or the line should form, to place themselves before the field pieces, and keep a constant fire upon the enemy ; but, that on pain of death, none of the battalions should fire before ordered by their generals.

“ THUS disposed, and instructed, the army marched unmolested during the night, and till about three o'clock in the morning ; when the avant-guard, unwarily descending the defile leading from the high grounds of our side, and above Krotzka, as marked letter G. in the 1st plan, without the necessary precautions upon such occasions, fell in with the before-mentioned ambuscade ; which, in my opinion, was done by the treachery of the Rascians, whom the Turks permitted to pass, without discovering themselves, till the hussars were fairly embarked ; then saluting them with a cross fire, from both sides of the defiles, they soon threw the whole into confusion ; both hussars and Rascians dispersing themselves to right and  
and



and left amongst the Jannizaries, not knowing how to dis-  
engage themselves, except a few who had rallied and continued  
maintaining the defile till the arrival of John Palfi's cuirassiers,  
who were ordered to advance, with sound of trumpet, by the  
feldt-marshal himself, who already was in the defile; a scheme  
not ill judged, had they been but made to stop in time;  
which, as I have been informed by adjutant-general marquis  
Spada, the feldt-marshal intended; but they were so suddenly  
embarked, that there was no possibility of disengaging them;  
and to the supporting of these cuirassiers by detachments,  
regiments, and small corps, may be intirely attributed the  
deroute of the avant-guard, and the rebuting of our whole  
cavalry, by degrees, as they arrived; who had orders at full  
speed to join us, on finding ourselves engaged with a more  
considerable corps than we expected; a thing never to be ha-  
zarded on such an unlooked for misfortune happening; which,  
by bad intelligence, and other incidents in war, is not to be  
foreseen by the extent of human genius; though, from capa-  
city increased by experience, furnished with numberless exam-  
ples, almighty god, out of his infinite goodness, has enabled  
us as an equivalent for our bounded extent of foresight, to a  
certain degree to be able to remedy such accidents: sometimes,  
even to make them turn to our advantage, as, which possibly  
hereafter may be made appear, this might have been in the  
progreß of this detail: therefore, with that view, I have made  
use of the word EXAMPLE; being the way that abstruse things  
are cleared up to the understanding, whereby the better to  
shew how things that have happened by such proceedings,



BOOK might have been by the like resembled in their consequences  
III. on another occasion.

“ I SHALL, therefore, venture to make a short digression with regard, in some measure, to a similar circumstance; which was what happened before the battle of Peterwaradin, gained by prince Eugene of Savoy, of immortal memory; who being asked a considerable detachment of cavalry by feldt-marshal Palfi, to chastise the avant-guard of the Turkish army, or at least a considerable corps of them, that were impertient, as they always will be in confidence of the celerity of their horses, betwixt Peterwaradin and Carlowitz; not far from whence was the grand vizir, towards whom the said avant-guard retreated on the success of Palfi, who, flushed with it at first, unwarily found himself too far engaged; and not unperceivedly so neither by his alert enemy, on such occasions, very quick sighted; who, soon finding themselves not briskly pursued, according to their constant custom, returned with a multiplied force; the impression of success, or the contrary, flying, with their consequences, in a degree swifter amongst their troops, than with us, as their swiftness exceeds ours; thereby soon bringing up to their aid even a part of their grand army: so rendering it absolutely necessary for Palfi to desire of the prince to be sustained, by a reinforcement: but the prince, as I must suppose, perceiving it might bring on a general action while he was unprepared, sent him notice, “ that as he had engaged “ himself too far, he must endeavour to get off, as well as “ he could;” in the mean time preparing, I doubt not, for the  
the



the opportunity he foresaw this success of the Turks would CHAP. I.  
give him of a general action; which should be the morning  
prayer of every general formidably, or tolerably, attended  
with regulars, making war against so alert a kind of undiscip-  
lined troops, who, as they always advance, the more flushed  
with no essential successes, become the more certain prey, of  
cautiously prepared steady forces; as happened here, soon after  
Palfi's retreat; which, though made with some precipitation,  
and loss, occasioned that general quickly to share the glory of  
amply repaying his defeat, in assisting, the morning after, at  
the total overthrow of the Ottoman army; which, twenty to  
one, would not have been so suddenly abandoned to such an  
unexpected overthrow, by the grand vizir, who lost his life in  
the action, had not the before-mentioned accident rendered  
his multitude, perhaps, beyond the bounds of constraint: and  
this might have just been the case of the Roman imperial  
army at Krotzka, making the comparison of Palfi's corps  
with our avant-guard; which, without all question, could  
never, but by wrong information or accident, have been made  
to intangle itself as it did, though still never sufficient, sup-  
posing its total overthrow to be the determiner of an action  
whereon so much depended, when such a considerable number  
of fresh troops were within reach: for allowing the entire loss  
of John Palfi's cuirassiers, who after defiling through the  
before-mentioned ambuscade, and forming in the face of seve-  
ral thousand Turks, not twenty men debuching out of the  
mouth of the said defile, drawing up as shewn by letter H. in  
the 1st plan; and afterwards attacking the said corps of Turks  
as



BOOK as marked in the 1st plan by the letter I. making them retire  
III. to the spot marked letter K. in the same plan, which shews  
how they halted, least the corps of the enemy occupying the  
rising ground to our left should take us in our rear as it afterwards did, as shewn in the 2d plan by the letter L. denoting a body of Palfi, who wanted to possess themselves of the high ground, in order to cover the right of the said regiment, in danger of being pre-occupied by the enemy; who, observing the consequence of it, fell with such violence on that small corps, that, I believe, few escaped being either killed or wounded, as the whole body resisted to its utmost capacity; about the same time also obliging the regiment of Savoy, as marked in the 2d plan by the letter M. who had likewise debuched immediately after the regiment of Palfi, to retire with considerable loss; by that success rendering it likewise necessary, for the regiment of Palfi and the grenadiers, with whom the feldt-marshal Wallis was in person, and who had debuched immediately after the cavalry, marching along the plain, as marked in the 2d plan by the letter N. to form where the nine companies of grenadiers were commanded by major general Moravitzki; the other nine making up the eighteen companies before-mentioned, commanded by young prince Waldeck, who, behaving most gallantly, was mortally wounded at the head of them.

“ AT the same time the feldt-marshal was doing this, he ordered adjutant-general Luchesi to take the regiment of Phillipie, or such cavalry as he should first meet with, which  
chanced



chanced to be four squadrons of Caraffa, and attack the CHAP. I.  
enemy towards the quarter, as marked in the 2d plan by the letter O. which this general executed with the greatest bravery and success, being, about the same place, joined by general Dollone, who had likewise done miracles: at which time, had the army been come up, or the whole cavalry that were already joined moved regularly up, pointing their attack more towards Krotzka, it is probable, few Turks would have remained, on this side of the rivulet of that place; at least on this side of their first retrenchment: but, instead of this, the enemy, observing these brave corps unsustained, in their artful and desperate manner, or by circuits, attacked them in front and rear; obliging them, in the best manner that every man could, to save themselves for a more favourable opportunity, by the most expeditious kind of retreat; the grenadier companies, at last, forming themselves in a sort of uncompleted square, as marked in the 3d plan by the letter P. whereby they defended themselves, with a miraculous steadiness, till sent to their respective regiments; while the remains of the cavalry, at different reprises, having had their curiosity satisfied, at last rallied themselves in the manner represented in the 3d plan by the letter Q. behind the infantry; which now came seasonably up, to stop the first impetuous success of the enemy, and, in various places, while they were forming along the advantageous height, particularly towards the right, were obliged to dispute every inch of ground with the Ottoman infantry then sculking in the vines and bushes, from whence they were at first dislodged, by two battalions of Charles Lorrain



BOOK Lorrain, and two of Seckendorf, led by lieutenant-general  
III. Geisfruck, who was followed by major general Lefchner with  
one battalion of Konigseck, two battalions of Ogilve, and  
two of Walfegg; who was also followed by major general  
Ridezels, with two battalions of Maroli, succeeded by major  
general prince Hilburghausen with two battalions of Brown,  
two of Dungen, and one of Modena; all which battalions  
were formed by prince Charles, prince Waldeck, and the rest  
of the generals, in the most advantageous manner; charging  
the enemy, at various times and places, till major general  
Helfrieght arrived with three battalions of Bavarians, being those  
of Chur prince, Minuzzi, and Preising; who, taking the right  
hand of the road, and passing the regiment of Brown, with  
intention to fill up the openings where the enemy showed some  
inclination to break in, were disappointed by some of our ca-  
valry falling foul of them, and a battalion of Brown's, which  
was in motion downwards to sustain general Lefchner, but  
who, notwithstanding he met with the same fate, soon rallied  
again, and made the enemy retire; while Hohenzollern's  
cuirassiers joined the Bavarians and Hohenembs to the left of  
the said cavalry, more upon the height, where they filled up  
the rest of that flank; thus occupying the heights towards our  
right, opposite to those the enemy were possessed of, in like  
manner as field zeug-master prince Hilburghausen possessed  
those towards our left, with what was to have formed our two  
lines in one, extending all along the commanding height  
till covered by the Danube, as shewn in the 3d plan by  
the letter R.

“ DURING



“ DURING which manœuvre, two imperial and one Bavarian cannons being abandoned, the field zeug-master ordered major general prince Hilburghausen, with two companies of grenadiers from the regiments of Brown and Beveren, sustained by the regiment of Preising, commanded by major Heneburg to recover the said cannon, which they most handsomely regained. The enemy, after this, grew fiercer and fiercer; which lieutenant-general prince Waldeck observing, wisely judged it requisite to draw some battalions down the declivity, towards the point of the rising ground; filling up an interval made by so doing, with the three battalions of Bavarians; and distinguishing himself prodigiously throughout the whole action; while a body of the enemy, most desperately attacked the regiments of Hohenembs, Modena, and Thungen, passing even at first their chevaux de Frise; but met with such a vigorous repulse, that few of them returned. Prince Waldeck was then employed in more advantageously posting the said regiments of infantry, but was soon after wounded, and obliged to retire from the action, having had four contusions before; but he devolved over his command upon lieutenant-general Thaun, who had orders from field zeug-master prince Hilburghausen, to relieve the regiments of Seckendorf, Lorrain, and Minuzzi, out of the fire; by the three battalions of Cullen; which regiments had scarcely drawn themselves towards the height, when the enemy made so furious an attack that they were again obliged to descend to sustain the before-mentioned battalions; while the field zeug-master himself



BOOK posted the two battalions of Platz so advantageously, as to  
III. frustrate another attack that the enemy intended on this quarter, which they were about doing, though not so fiercely at several other places, from about our center quite to our right, where prince Charles of Lorrain, to the admiration of all around him, behaved with the greatest bravery and calmness, disappointing the enemy in all their attempts; having had his flanks covered, as shewn in the 3d plan by the letter S. by two squadrons of Altham's dragoons, sent him very much apropos by the feldt marshal. The enemy perceiving these dispositions, and that, about four of the clock in the afternoon, we were reinforced by colonel Barron Gullay, with the regiment of Deimar, and some other cavalry from Neuperg's corps, as marked in the same plan by the letter T. begun, as we conjectured, to make their last efforts; thereby rendering it necessary for the last mentioned fresh cavalry, to relieve the regiments of Hohenembs and Hohenzollern, which, by so doing, had soon an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, particularly by colonel Gullay's wheeling Diemar's company of carabineers, and two squadrons more, advancing with them, as if to take in flank a party of the enemy, who intended another attack upon the regiments of Modena and Thungen, making them retire, as by the bravery of the troops they found themselves obliged to do, without gaining one inch of ground, on any quarter since the formation of the infantry: whereupon the enemy began to slacken in their fire, from which we had suffered prodigiously, and posted themselves among the bushes, out of reach of our musketry; but





but a portee for their officers to distinguish themselves with their rifled pieces; who, we may suppose, aimed at the officers of our avant guard; the generals whereof killed about the beginning of the action were the young prince of Hesse-Rhinfelt, Carraffa, Wittorf, young prince of Waldeck, and Leshner; among the wounded were the generals Geisruck, hereditary prince of Waldeck, prince Birkenfeld, young Thaun, and numbers more; several of whom being unfortunate in the morning, made the loss of such brave officers the more to be regretted; though, to their great honour, the troops remained with a firmness beyond expectation, considering their having been in a constant fire, without a prospect of revenging themselves, from day break till near seven at night; when, as day declined, the fire diminished upon both sides, till no more was heard: the enemy continuing on their posts, as we did on ours; and, soon after all was quiet, we heard them by their night prayers, or thanksgiving, succeeded by the musick of the Janizaries, make triumphal rejoicings for their imaginary victory; which note might soon have been changed, had our feldt marshal, who had been in the hottest of the fire throughout the day, and the field zeug-master, as I have been informed, instead of calling a council of war, wherein it was determined to retire, pursued their own opinion of continuing firm as posted till morning, before day break, while Neuberg's corps came up, when, with united force, they might have renewed their attack; which, I venture to affirm, might have been done with the greatest facility, and without the least doubt of success, in the following manner.



## BOOK

## III.

“By ordering the companies of grenadiers belonging to Neuperg's corps to march along the Danube, and by the roads through the woods, till under our left wing; whence, in concert with Pallavicini, sustained by our left wing, as marked No. 1. in the fourth plan, they should attack the battery of the enemy by the Danube, with that on the rising ground, and grand vizir's tent, as marked No. 2. in the same plan: while all Neuperg's corps, who, I suppose, to have marched by the same orders, received instructions along the route the army had marched, to convey themselves towards our right wing, where it should form, leaving no intervals, in the manner shewn in the same fourth plan by No. 3. where the infantry were formed before the cavalry, without the intermixture of any horse; because, by the inequality of the ground, it would be more difficult to keep the first line ferried; besides the liberty it gives the cavalry in the rear of manœvering in the valley, or where they could to best purpose convey themselves with the greatest regularity; maintaining their first disposition in support of the first and second line, destined to take in flank the left of the enemy, on the signal being given by the grenadiers, and Pallavicini's ships, beginning on their right, while the center moved down from the commanding heights, sustained by the cavalry who had been rebutted the morning before; and while our line of infantry, extending from our right to left, on our right's inclining towards Krotzka, being divided about the place in the same 4th plan marked No. 4, by which means our left wing, that



that had scarcely suffered at all, and the corps de bataille, inclining to our right, before the right of our army that had been so much engaged inclining towards our left, had time to form a second line betwixt our left wing, and left half of our corps de bataille, and the before-mentioned rebutted cavalry, now to be made use of with the hussars, and grenadiers of the unfortunate avant-guard, as marked No. 5. in the 4th plan, as a corps of reserve to chastise such desperadoes as might possibly break through at some parts of our first line; so proceeding till, I humbly suppose, a compleat victory might have been gained by means so suddenly to have been accomplished, without the success of the former day having induced them, with their whole army and most of their baggage, to pass the before-mentioned defile; where, before they could have repassed, what with our fleet, and our most formidable army, I maintain, notwithstanding all our loss the day before, they could not have deprived us of the pleasure of one of the compleatest victories that has been gained over that, I may say, almost unattainable enemy, save when their caprice leads them into the snare; which being what I wanted to prove, I shall proceed to answer some objections, that probably may be made, and which should I not expect, with numberless more, as the fancy of man is without bounds, I should declare my ignorance of the many dispositions an army may be thrown into, to gain the same end, and shew an unpardonable inattention to the variety of descriptions I have heard made of all actions I have ever been in, and often of particular parts of them wherein I have had some reasons to think



BOOK think that, what chanced to be within the compass of my view,  
III. I should know as well as any.

“ BUT, it may be readily conjectured, I shall be told that the troops had fasted long, were much fatigued, and had suffered prodigiously: which I allow; but, to this, I answer, that they, according to my proposition, might have been quickly relieved; because, under the escort of our reinforcement, the same waggons that came for our wounded and disabled men, whom we, at our leisure, might thus have sent off, ought to have brought a plenty of provisions, that should have run along the whole line then reposing under arms; sure of no disturbance from the enemy, and refreshing themselves after their fatigue: besides, there was another reason, by the enemy never inclining to attack in the night; which was to be expected to a much greater degree than what happened in case of a retreat; which could not fail of duplicating all the before complained of evils.

“ AGAIN; I shall be told, so many officers had been killed, and wounded, that there was not a sufficient number remaining to conduct those troops who had suffered most: all which I grant; though without any disparagement to the brave men who had been unfortunate.

“ BUT I advance that those, who had long been expecting such a catastrophe, where their hard services, behaviour, and bravery, might at last gain them, what they merited, an  
expected



expected promotion, at least the honour of it for one day, CHAP. I.  
would have, in expectation of signalizing themselves, with  
very little inferior vigour, conducted the same remains of those  
corps, perhaps, to greater fates than those commanding in  
other parts of the army, who, by good fortune, or prudence,  
had not been so much exposed: while others, who were hur-  
ried up to spheres beyond their expectation, wanted to live  
but two or three such days, to adorn what they already were,  
and countenance a further demand for their services. But,  
however that might be, those now occasionally advanced, I dare  
venture to say, for their own sakes, would certainly not so  
much as think of advising a retreat; so often, of later years,  
the result of councils called on such occasions, whose decisions  
may easily be traced, and justly attributed to be the basis of  
all the misfortunes that have accompanied the brave armies  
where they were called; though if this should be taken as a  
reflection, which I declare is not meant to any in particular,  
I shall only add, for apology,

*The guilty mind is check'd with deep remorse,  
While the brave spirit soars above its force.*

“ I SHALL be also told, the roughness of the grounds  
would not permit the enemy's being so regularly attacked, as  
I have set forth in the plan: but, I affirm, there was nothing  
betwixt us and the enemy to hinder our infantry composing,  
and to compose, our first and second line, to advance, and  
give a hand in assisting the field artillery where difficulties  
occurred;



BOOK occurred; as I have seen done in other places. And, with  
 III. regard to the cavalry, there was over all in the rear of the  
 first line, however it might advance, intervals of valleys, and  
 openings, where the cavalry might most effectually manœuvre;  
 so as to curb such of the enemy who chanced to be successful  
 against the infantry: for here the cavalry would certainly be  
 dreaded, particularly by all those ways leading towards the  
 Turkish intrenchments; where they seldom ever wait the attack,  
 however desperate they are in attacking those of others.

“ I SHALL again, perhaps, be told, our right flank should  
 have extended itself further, in order more to surround the  
 left of the enemy; but, I think that, first it would not have  
 been amiss by the considerable weight of, what I may call,  
 the three lines, which I place on our right, first to ebranler  
 the defendants of the enemies intrenchments on that side;  
 which done, the objection may be obviated by the hussars  
 and cavalry extending themselves along the high road,  
 crossing the enemies intrenchments leading towards Krotz-  
 ka, which must soon make the Turks towards our center,  
 accompanied with whatever success, look round them, con-  
 sidering the progress which, by this time, I suppose the com-  
 panies of grenadiers, and fleet, must have made along the  
 Danube; all which is sufficient, in my humble opinion, to  
 demonstrate the compleat victory that might have been got,  
 had it pleased god to have inspired our councils, with other  
 sentiments than a retreat, which was ordered to begin about  
 ten o'clock in the evening on the 22d of July, 1739: but I  
 cannot



cannot conceive why such a resolution was made, unless on a supposition, that, by so doing, the army might be joined, and the enemy, eager in pursuit, drawn into a snare; which was not altogether an improbable thing, had not the grand vizir shewn more discretion then to risk any thing that might frustrate the advantageous peace, he knew this retreat must oblige us to grant him, if he concluded the campaign without hazarding any thing general, wherein we might again raise our drooping spirits by a successful stroke. Therefore, the vizir, as I was informed, from some about his head guards, notwithstanding he was in peril of a mutiny, ordered nothing general to be undertaken during our retreat; which was a most prudent step, with regard to war, as ever a vizir took; however, it might be otherwise with regard to himself, considering the turbulent spirits he had to deal with, who can be made to look forwards no further than the present appearance of things; for the vizir, though his troops blamed him extremely for this procedure, foresaw that it gave him a probability of success, in all he was at last to undertake; which, by a different manœuvre, he hazarded, as at Meadia, where he had commanded as seraskier vizir of Widin, when the rear guard of the Imperialists were attacked with seeming success at first on the Turkish side; but which, at last, turned into a total deroute of them that attacked, and had like to have lost them, besides their defeat, all the advantages, they afterwards gained throughout that campaign, by the imperial troops returning in pursuit of them towards Orsova, headed by several generals; who could scarcely prevail on themselves,



BOOK on seeing the favourable occasion the unsteadiness of the Turks  
III. gave them, to abandon Orsova, and retire as had been decided  
in a council of war, called within one march of that essential  
place; which, I doubt not, was now recollected by the grand  
vizir; who thought it much the most prudent method to in-  
terrupt the retreat of the Imperialists as little as possible;  
judiciously concluding, by the results of councils called during  
the two former campaigns, what might be the event of this  
retreat; therefore, only allowing a small corps to appear at a  
proper distance in the rear of our army, as we retired, in  
pretty good order, covered by Diemar's regiment of cuirassiers,  
Altham's regiment of dragoons, and most of the rest of the  
cavalry, the whole commanded by general baron Berlichingen,  
who, with the other generals, commanding both the cavalry  
and rear-guard of the infantry, with the greatest conduct  
imaginable, brought up the rear of the whole army by day-  
break into their old camp of Witsnitsa; where we were joined  
with Neuberg's corps: but the whole army, on the 23d of  
July, was again obliged to form in order of battle, as the follow-  
ing plan shews to receive the whole Turkish army which was  
expected to follow us; but without any foundation, for I am  
persuaded they were more wisely conducted to think of any  
thing else than harrassing us with their avant-guard, and con-  
tinuing that impression the grand vizir already observed us  
possessed with, which so evidently continued as to leave our  
fleet to retire as well as it could; while the army pursued its  
retreat, by its former camp of Witsnitsa, into the ever me-  
morable lines of prince Eugene round Belgrade; where we  
arrived



arrived, without any considerable disturbance from the enemy **CHAP.**  
in our retreat. **III**

“ I SHALL now proceed to insert the orders of the day, in the retreat; with a list of the killed and wounded at Krotzka.

“ The parole, was St. Antonio de Padua.

“ 1st. THE foragers were to meet by the village Carlsthal, and were to forage on the other side of the Danube.

“ 2d. THE furriers and under furriers were to meet at the head quarters; from whence they were to be conducted by general Bernclau to where a new camp was to be traced.

“ 3d. SHOULD the enemy appear, all were to continue in the camp.

“ 4th. A CAPTAIN, with one hundred men from Neuberg's corps, was to attend a lieutenant-colonel with a detachment of cavalry to whom he was assigned; being to go a-cross the Danube, where they were to assemble near the hospital.

“ 5th. THE regiments who had any recovered men, were to draw them, from where they were, to their respective corps.



## Book

## III.

" 6th. WHEN order was given for all the baggage to march, the tents, chevaux de frise, half of the furlers, and butchers waggons, were not to move.

" THE list of the killed and wounded, at the battle of Krotzka.

|                              | killed.    | wounded.   |
|------------------------------|------------|------------|
| Generals                     | 4          | 4          |
| Officers                     | 118        | 205        |
| Corporals and sergeants      | 174        | 285        |
| Common men                   | 2930       | 2461       |
|                              | <hr/> 2222 | <hr/> 2951 |
| Taken prisoners, or lost men |            | 296        |

" ON the 25th of July, the following orders were given in the lines of Belgrade; the parole being St. Jacob, and Breslau.

" 1st. ALL the heavy baggage was to be sent to Semlin, under the escort of a major of horse.

" 2d. THE rear line, when the army began to march that evening, were to move down towards the fortifications; because it was not intended the lines should be defended against the enemy.

3d.



" 3d. All the ammunition that remained was to be conducted off by the regiment of Seckendorf; except two horses loaded with two casks each, who were to attend the battalions.

" Thus, this evening, the Roman imperial army retiring out of the lines of Belgrade into the bannat of Temeswaer, over two bridges, laid across the Danube for that purpose, continued its route, over bridges laid across the marshes for their new camp near Porcha, while Palavicini retired with his fleet under the cannon of our fortifications, according to orders, leaving the Maltese with their squadron at the mouth of the Temes where it enters the Danube, as shewn in the plan; ticklishly enough situated, considering how the accelerated motion of the grand vizir, on his observing that he had gained his design, by our retreat over the Danube, from betwixt him and Belgrade; which, however, might have cost him dear, had all stratagems, warlike transactions will admit of, been carried on, as was to be expected: for, as affairs at present stood, he could not reasonably refrain, nor indeed is it to be supposed he could prevent his troops, from undertaking the siege of Belgrade, had it not been so natural a scheme as it chanced to be; which, though it was fortunately for him, he judiciously only entered the lines of Belgrade, with his avant-guard, as most of the army had got past.

" ON the 26th, we constantly supported a skirmish with our rear-guard, still covering our baggage; while the rest of  
the



BOOK the army was defiling, in two columns, with the greatest expedition; until a message was sent from the Turkish commander to lieutenant general Ballaira, who commanded the rear-guard, composed of the five regiments of cavalry, viz. Caraffa, Savoy, John Palfi, Dollone, and chur Bayern; with nine battalions of infantry, commanded by major general Schulemberg; desiring the said general Ballaira to send over to them an officer of distinction to whom they would communicate their instructions; and that, during two hours, there should be a cessation of arms: to all which a flat denial was given by both lieutenant-general Schulemberg, and lieutenant-general Ballaira, till the return of count Odonell, lieutenant-colonel of Dollone's regiment of dragoons, who was sent to know what ordersfeldt-marshal Wallis would give with regard to the above message; when his excellency thought proper to send count Gros, colonel of Savoy's regiment of dragoons, to the enemy; who sent a Turkish officer in exchange; but as he was incapable of giving a proper explanation why he had been sent to us, the Turks desired another officer in exchange, for one who should be more fully instructed; upon which, captain Schulemberg was sent, letting them know, at the same time, that the two hours cessation of arms was agreed to only on condition, that no work should be begun in the interval, nor none pretend to approach, or reconnoitre, the fortifications; for that, if they did, they must expect to be fired upon: all which being agreed to, the Turkish officer, pretending to come directly from the grand vizir, who was then within the lines, arrived, and was carried before lieutenant-general Suckoff, the



the commandant of Belgrade, to whom he delivered his im-  
pertinent message, as follows, "that as the said fortress be-  
longed to his master, the Ottoman emperor, it should there-  
fore forthwith be delivered up to him; or, in case of a refusal,  
the grand vizir would be obliged to pay them a visit." To  
which the commandant answered in a few words, "that in  
the first place, they should for the future pretend to send no  
such message: that, in the next, he would have him to know  
Belgrade belonged to the Roman emperor: that he was, at  
present, governor of it; and, with his garrison, to the last  
drop of their blood, would maintain it such, against all their  
attempts, which he might let the grand vizir know he might  
make in what manner he pleased." Whilst this was tran-  
sacting, some Turks, who approached the out-works too near,  
were made to retire by our cannon; and, at the same time,  
lieutenant-general Suckoff sent out a drum to desire our officers  
should be returned for theirs; which, however, did not hap-  
pen till night, when captain Schulemberg returned with a  
letter to feldt-marshal Wallis from colonel count Grosse, im-  
porting, "that the grand vizir had told him, if Belgrade was  
delivered up, he would then treat with him in regard to  
peace:" which letter his excellency answered himself out of  
the camp; lieutenant-general Ballaira still continuing to besiege;  
the marshal thereby so wisely profiting of the time the ex-  
change of messages occasioned for us, in retiring the com-  
mando with some field pieces that had been left in the out  
hospital; from whence the day before we had withdrawn all  
the sick; neglecting not likewise a commando in the Ratzen-  
stat,



BOOK stat, that had been posted there to defend some retrenched  
III. houses, which run a great risk otherwise to have fallen  
into the enemies hands, who, this day, by about three of the  
clock in the afternoon, were entirely masters of all prince  
Eugene's lines, and commanding heights within them; which,  
with other circumstances, soon determined feldt-marshal Wallis  
to reinforce the garrison with thirteen battalions, which were  
not even sufficient, had they been compleat, considering the  
extensiveness of the works that were to be defended; and that  
we were obliged to support Sabates, where this day 200 men  
were detached, as a reinforcement with them, their garrison  
before being nothing near the compliment requisite at that  
place.

"WHILE all this was transacting, the enemy were gradually  
extending their camp, as their troops arrived from the river  
Saave, not far from the Ratzenstat, all along the lines behind  
general Schmettau's house on the brink of the Danube; there-  
by shewing us very evidently their intentions: whereupon a  
council of war was called, the alarm posts regulated, and all  
other necessary ones manned as formidable as our garrison  
would admit of; not forgetting the proper precautions with  
regard to fire, caused in whatever manner, ringing of bells,  
and beating drums.

"WHILE all passed as before-mentioned round Belgrade,  
and feldt-marshal Wallis occupied the camp of Porcha, with  
the whole army, giving out for the parole St. Procopius and  
Prague;



Prague; ordering the next day a rest; but that the army should forage in the neighbourhood without damaging the corn, which the general provost should have under his inspection: and that 300 men should meet, by break of day, near the artillery, with two captains, and two lieutenants, in order to go and take post at Semnitza. CHAP. I.

ON the 27th, the enemy extended their camp quite down to the brink of the Danube; beginning, as marked by the letter A, a battery of four pieces of cannon; with which they made our ships retire above our bridges; while their infantry begun their first parallel: for the other nearer their camp, they made subsequently far greater security, as we suppose, behind general Schmettau's house, as marked letter B. which finding they might approach something nearer, they advanced before the said house, as letter C. shews, continuing the same lines through the vine gardens over the stone bridge and rising ground, where the place of execution was, towards the Saave, through the vine gardens near the Rätzénstat; but, while they were doing this, we kept a constant fire upon them; though to no effect, as they still continued on their work.

“ IN the mean time, we conveyed all our sick, to the number of 1500, to Palanka, by water: while feldt-marshal Wallis, who came this day to Belgrade, from the camp at Porcha reconnoitered all the out-works; giving the proper instructions necessary on the like occasions, in case he should not be a partee of doing so afterwards; which was scarcely



BOOK finished before the enemy discovered the before-mentioned  
III. battery of four pieces of cannon; obliging us to retire, not  
only with our men of war, but also with our two bridges laid  
over the Danube, which were made to lie opposite to St.  
Alexander's bastion out of their reach.

“ WHILE affairs went on in this manner here, our army  
encamped this day at Porcha, where they had the following  
orders and intelligence.

“ Parole St. Adey, Belgrade and Mons.

“ 1st. THE army was to keep in readiness to march, which  
was to be to the right, by vigator, to be beat on the signal  
being given from the head quarters, if not countermanded.

“ 2d. ON a resting day, thenceforward, the parole would  
be given out at ten of the clock in the morning; but, on  
march days, at five in the afternoon.

“ 3d. BREAD and oats would be received, on this side of  
the Danube, 'till the end of this month.

“ 4th. NO person, without leave, was to return to  
Belgrade.

“ 5th. THE provision waggons should be left behind.

“ 6th,



“ 6th. THE commando by Semnitza, should be provided with bread.

“ LITTLE else of consequence happened this day, except the confirmation of the intelligence we had received that a considerable body of the enemy were encamped near Pansova, as we supposed to dispute with us, the passage at Jabuka; with an intention to cut off our communication with all the rest of our forage; and to cover Vipalanka, where all their magazines and warlike stores for the carrying on the siege of Belgrade must necessarily pass: whereupon, the feldt-marshal immediately detached a considerable corps towards the river Semnitza; which being all done, and the 27th ending without any further disturbance, we shall proceed to the 28th, when it was published at Belgrade, by order of the commandant, that no officer, soldier, or person whatsoever, should, in publick or private, so much as talk of capitulating, or surrendering of the fortress; and, the more effectually to prevent such bad practices, three pillars were erected, one near the Alexander Cazern, another before the grand guard, and the third in the Wasser town without the walls, for the punishment of such offenders.

“ IN the mean time, the enemy were continuing trenches under our constant fire, as before described, with considerable loss, as they now begun to be behind the hospital, and great Mosch; from whence, to the right, and left of it, they



BOOK extended their trenches, and batteries, as shewn in the plan;  
III. seeming likely soon to perfect some for service, which we quickly experienced.

“THUS hostilities going on, without any prospect of accommodation; as, indeed, none ought, at this time, to have been demanded; colonel Gros of Savoy's regiment returned, as the captain Aga of the Janizaries did to the enemies camp.

“BUT, as I have hinted that, at present, no accommodation should have been hearkened to otherwise than for amusement; it will be expected I should give my reasons for such an assertion; which I shall do as briefly as possible, before I proceed to further details, by a short recapitulation of the present situation of the armies of the high imperial allies, yet capable, without any probability of failure, notwithstanding our late check, to have concluded one of the most glorious campaigns, that ever had been made against the Ottoman power.

“FIRST, then, it must be considered, that the Russians, as by the following relation, which, by this time, feldt-marshal Wallis had received, were on the Moldavian side of the Niester; consequently apter of doing what they would; as may be more easily conceived, by the said description; which is inserted here, to give a more thorough notion of what was transacting in the different armies.

An



An abridged relation of the transactions of her

Russian imperial majesty's army, commanded by feldt-marshal Munich, during the month of July, in 1739; as it marched towards, and through, the Turkish Wallachy.

“ABOUT the beginning of July, a detachment of the Tartarian hords, consisting of about five thousand men, passed the Niester; advancing on the Polish frontiers towards the Russian army, in order to harcel them, during their march, and destroy their forage without ever giving them an opportunity to chastise the Tartars; still retiring, the moment the Russians seemed to attempt any thing against them, a-crofs the river Sbrutz. However, on the 16th, it was resolved the Russian army should march to the right towards the Niester; where it was determined to force their passage over the said river, higher up then Chotzim; which succeeded according to wish, by the following disposition, made on the 17th, when feldt-marshal Munich, ordered a formidable detachment to be drawn from the whole army, consisting of two battalions of her majesty's foot guards: 2dly. the detachment of her horse-guards: 3dly. all the grenadier companies of the whole army: 4thly. one battalion of each regiment of foot: 5thly. the avant-guard of the army, consisting of four regiments



BOOK regiments of dragoons, and eight hundred pioneers : 6thly.

III. the most part of the hussars, and irregular troops, with the field artillery : which corps being divided into three columns, the first was put under the command of lieutenant-general Charles Biron ; the second, under lieutenant general baron Lowendahl ; and the third, under lieutenant-general Gustavus Biron : the avant-guard being conducted by the general quarter-master Fermer.

“ THUS disposed, the said corps marched without any heavy baggage, and only ten days provision ; leaving the body of the army, heavy artillery, magazine of provisions, and heavy baggage, to follow slowly, under the command of the general of the infantry Romanzoff ; who might thereby amuse the enemy, with the opinion, that the Russian army, which hitherto had taken their route towards the river Sbrutz, pointing towards Chotzim, continued the same road, which Romanzoff had orders to follow a day or two longer : though the feldt-marshal Munich proceeded another way to the right, by the little river Nislawka, and the village Selinza, not far from the town Bayorod, with the detached corps, which separated from the body of the army, on the 18th, by break of day, taking its march, conducted by the feldt-marshal himself ; who, notwithstanding the several defiles, and considerable rising grounds he had to pass, by the eagerness of the troops, made such expedition as to march above thirty wersts without a halt ; arriving on the banks of the Niester near the village Sinkova, by about five of the clock in the evening ;



evening; where he found a very convenient place for the passage of the troops: which was bounded with pretty steep banks, but not occupied by the enemy, who were none of them to be seen; and this was entirely owing to a stratagem, which succeeded to wish: for the Niester being low, the Russian irregulars fording, and swimming where it was deep, immediately crossed it; taking post on the other side; while a bridge of pontoons was perfected during the night; though the river here was betwixt seventy and eighty fathoms broad: however, in the mean time, a detachment of grenadiers was transported upon radeaux to support the irregulars, and secure the passage for the rest of the army, in case of accidents; the same radeaux being afterwards employed in forming another float bridge. Thus, all proper preparations being made, during the night, by break of day, on the 19th, the feldt-marshal disposed the before-mentioned detachment, so as, with the greatest expedition, to pass; taking the lead himself with lieutenant-general Gustavus Biron; her majesty's guards, with lieutenant-general Charles Biron, and baron Lowendahl, following with the field artillery, and gros of the detachment; all of them so alertly executing their respective functions, that, by the 20th, in the morning, the whole were encamped upon the enemy's country; where the Russians speedily had information that part of the enemy were still on the Polish side of the Niester, and as yet knew nothing of their passage: whereupon several parties of Russian irregulars were detached along the Niester towards Chotzim, and towards the Pruth, to reconnoitre the country, and learn intelligence



BOOK III. gence of the enemies motions. One of these parties soon returned, after having taken a captain and six Wallachians prisoners, who had been sent out by the Moldavian hospodar to get intelligence of the Russian army: whose small patrols killed another Wallachian captain: and another party returned with two Janizaries, who had convoyed some merchants from Chotzim to Zarnowitz. The colonel of the Tzugujewtz Calmucks, called Axentieff, likewise returned; after having met with a party of the enemy, with whom he engaged, and killed their captain called Nowac, took ten men prisoners, gained two pair of their standards, and several fire arms.

“ IN like manner, the Russian parties returned, at all hours, with such variety of booty, such numbers of horses, cattle, and sheep, that the army would be in no manner of want for a considerable time. During those transactions, the Russians had variety of informations; and, amongst others, one from two Towariuzens, who had been sent on the 18th, by the regimentary Malinsky, with money to the garrison of Kaminick; by whom they had intelligence, that the enemy by the river Sbrutz, to the number of 60,000 Tartars, fourteen hundred Tzerbedsche and Spahis, with three thousand Janizaries, mounted on Tartarian horses, had been detached to watch the motions of the Russian army; and, at any rate, to prevent their passage of the Sbrutz, or Niefter; the effecting of which, was then unknown to the kaltzak pascha of Chotzim, and seraskier Welli pascha, who followed the before-mentioned corps with the Turkish army, resolved even to



to dispute the passage of the Sbrutz with the Russians, in CHAP. I.  
their way to Kaminick, where they were expected to come.

“THUS the Russians deceived them: having also intelligence from the general of the infantry Romanzoff, commanding the body of the army, then following this detachment, that, on the 19th, a considerable party of the enemy had shown themselves, and had fallen upon a patrol of Cossacks, and killed one; but retired without interrupting the march of the army, which was to have joined the detached corps on the 23d. In the mean time, though daily expecting the enemy, who were seen to move towards Chotzim, this detached corps of the Russians proceeded with the greatest expedition, to lay more bridges for the passage of the army, as it arrived; which, since not interrupted no more than the corps before-mentioned, shews how the enemy were discountenanced, on the fortunate success of the Russian stratagem, in so safely, and unmolestedly, passing the Niester, where they expected to meet with such hazardous difficulties.

“THUS, then, affairs going on with the Russians; while prince Lobkowitz was in march, with a formidable corps, of about 18,000 men, out of Transylvania, towards the Turkish frontier, which was in no manner properly guarded, so as to be capable of acting offensively: what was there to hinder that general from leaving five or six thousand men in Transylvania, which was more than sufficient to cover that country, now in a manner apotee of the protection of the Russians?



BOOK as they demonstrated by joining prince Lobkowitz with about  
III. four hundred of their best irregulars, under the command of  
Allaman Ivanowitz Firaloff, chief of the don Cossacks, who, with the six thousand men, might have even acted offensively; while prince Lobkowitz, in less than fifteen marches, joined the grand army on the Danube, under feldt-marshal Wallis; who ought, from the instant he retreated across that river, to have made it his point of view, to make himself master of Vipalanka, and the passes between the Ottoman army, and their own country; thereby to prevent all their warlike stores from joining them before Belgrade, the siege of which they must have raised, or have stood my proposed attack within prince Eugene's lines; which, however formidable, would not, in all human appearance, have been sufficient to have prevented their total overthrow, as they had no way to escape; and which, as they must have foreseen, would have been reason sufficient for their not standing the trial: so that this must have produced a precipitate retreat, and caused a panick amongst the troops, who would have become as ungovernable on that event, as they are when flushed with victory; this being the real reason of that great superiority regulars have over irregulars; which to the greatest extent, in my opinion, might have been acquired by the Roman imperial army, sufficiently formidable, even without the corps under prince Lobkowitz, to defeat a greater army of irregulars, than the grand vizir had before Belgrade.

“ BUT



“ BUT, begging pardon for the digression, I shall return ; I. having already hinted what passed at Belgrade on the 28th, as well as to the army which was the same day encamped within one march of Pansova, where the parole was.

“ St Christophorus, and Passau:

“ 1st. IT was ordered that the pickets should consist of one captain, one lieutenant, and fifty men ; who were to be extremely alert ; and one hour before day-break, to awaken all the men, that they might be in readiness, in case of accidents.

“ 2d. FORAGING was allowed ; but at no distance from the camp.

“ 3d. ALL were to hold in readiness for a march ; which would be signified by vigator from the head quarters.

“ 4th. THE regiments might send for their baggage, making use of the feldt-marshal's name, if requisite.

“ 5th. SHOOTING was prohibited.

“ 6th. IT was desired all might be as sparing of bread as possible.



## Book

## III.

“IN this situation we shall leave the army, while we return to Belgrade; where, on the 29th, it had been designed, throughout the night, to have burnt the hospital, Turkish mosch, and little houses before the Wirtemberg gate; but this was frustrated by the advanced posts of the enemy; who were, however, incapable of restraining us from burning some small houses to the ground, that might have been of use to them; which so alarmed their Janizaries, whose privilege it is for forty days to maintain the trenches, and lines of contravallation, that they gave a running fire all along from towards the Saave to the Danube, as if they had been attacked: but, as no such thing was intended, our troops returned into the covered way; after burning the above-mentioned houses; as others did some old boats, lest they should serve them to make bridges of; and also an old mill on the brink of the Danube.

“ALL this, however, interrupted not the enemy from carrying on their works to such a length, as to begin battering the town in form this day, with sixteen pieces of cannon, and nine haubitizers; in other shapes likewise shewing their assiduity, by cutting off the communication of several springs without our works; whereby we found several of our wells diminish in that abundance of water, there used to be in them; making the following order, which would have been otherwise given out the more necessary, viz. that all useless people, such



such as wives and children, with their baggage, should, in the CHAP.  
space of forty-eight hours, abandon the place. I.

“ WHILE affairs went on thus at Belgrade, Doshe pascha, with most of the Turkish cavalry, for the advantage of forage, to harass our army, and to cover their magazines at Vipalanka, was encamped at Pansova, not above a march from where our army was with design to attack the same Doshe pascha, on the 30th, if, by any means, it could be brought about; for which purpose, the following orders were given out this day at the army.

“ 1st. THAT the whole army should be formed some paces before their quarter guards, in order of battle, an hour before day-break.

“ 2d. THAT they should leave their tents, and baggage, behind as they stood.

“ 3d. THAT the private men should take nothing along with them, but bread and water.

“ 4th. THAT the chevaux de frise, should be carried along with them.

“ 6th. THAT one sutler for every regiment should march along in the rear of the second line; that so they might make no confusion.

“ 7th.



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“ 7th. THAT the artillery belonging to the brigades should be carried along.

“ 8th. THAT there should be one corporal, one under corporal, and six private men, ordered by each cannon.

“ 9th. WITH the baggage there was to remain, from each battalion, one under corporal, and three private men.

“ 10th. WHILE the army marched in order of battle, the left wing was to regulate itself by the right.

“ LEAVING our army thus determined, and instructed; I shall begin, for connection sake, with a short recapitulation of what was done after their retreat over the Danube; after which I shall proceed to the detail of what passed on the 30th.



A relation of the action between his imperial majesty's army, and that of the Turkish cavalry, under the command of the Doshe pascha, on the 30th of July 1739, near Panshova in the bannat of Temeswaer.

“THE imperial army, under the command of feldt-marshal Wallis, having, on the 25th in the night, passed over the Danube, and encamped near the river Porcha; where it remained the 26th and 27th, receiving intelligence that a formidable body of Turkish cavalry had also crossed, and encamped themselves near Panshova, with design, as we had reason to believe to dispute with us the passage of Jabuka, and to cut off our forage. To prevent which, the feldt-marshal immediately detached four battalions, besides two field pieces, to reinforce the detachment of one thousand foot and horse, which were posted by the river Semnitzer; who were soon joined by two regiments of cavalry, and about five battalions more; the whole commanded by feldt zeug-master Neuperg. In the mean time, the army had orders to keep themselves in readiness to march; while the feldt-marshal himself went a reconnoitering to Jabuka, where the bridges were to be laid over.



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“OBSERVING some Turks had posted themselves in a cañern, situated on the other side of the Jabuka, who were beginning to fire across the water upon our workers, and troopers, the feldt-marshal ordered some cannon to be played upon them; whereby they were made to retire; and three hundred of our infantry soon after crossed, and occupied the same post. His excellency, returning about ten o'clock at night to the camp, immediately sent for the feldt-marshal of the cavalry, and the feldt zeug-master of the infantry; to whom he communicated his orders, that the army should march about midnight: that four regiments of cavalry, and five battalions of infantry, should be left, under the command of major-general count Dufort, to secure the communication. All which was notified to the regiments, as soon as possible: while his excellency the feldt-marshal, with two regiments of cavalry, about midnight, took the lead on towards the river Temes; where the bridges were laying over; which being soon finished, were passed by the corps before-mentioned, under the command of feldt zeug-master Neuperg, and the two regiments of cavalry, conducted thither by his excellency; who scarcely got on the other side before the arrival of the infantry of the army, which begun to defile, while the cavalry was obliged to dismount near the first bridge over the Semnitzer, till the infantry had got past; which must be tedious, considering there was a continuation of bridges to be laid for about 2000 paces; over which, however, the army passed very safely, without any opposition, except a little skirmishing that happened



betwixt our hussars, and a body of the enemy; who, CHAP. without undertaking any thing of consequence, retired about I. three o'clock in the afternoon; allowing the army, in the greatest tranquility, to take up the camp on the other side of the river Temes, as marked in the plan by the letter A. where it continued the 29th, while a council of war was called, on the confirmation of the formidable appearance of the corps of the enemy, now encamped near Panfova; wherein it was unanimously agreed, that they should be attacked; and, by some, after the following manner, viz. that the same night the army should decamp, leaving the tents standing, and the fires lighted, with a certain number of drums, to beat the ordinary beating; while the army marched with the greatest silence, over the plain, in so many columns, to a proper distance from the camp of the enemy: where the whole should be formed in order of battle, so early as to be able to attack above an hour before day-break: which, according to my opinion, could not have failed of being attended with the surprise of their camp, and the deroute of the whole corps; for I must impute it as a most unpardonable oversight in the Doshe pascha to continue with his camp, however he might approach us with his corps, so near our whole army, which he had allowed without opposition to pass on his side of the Temes; as the grand vizir, I suppose, likewise judged, as we may imagine by the treatment he gave the said pascha on what happened, which shall afterwards be recited.



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## III.

“ BUT to return; the said method not being approved of, it was ordered that, on the 30th by break of day, the army should march from the front of the camp, formed in order of battle, leaving it under cover of two regiments from the before-mentioned detachment, commanded by major general Dufort, with a colonel and 500 horse from the army.

“ THUS, in a manner abandoning our camp, the army marched towards the enemy; who were moving, much about the same time, with both right and left; which made it impossible for our left to come up a-breast with the right; because of the wheel it was obliged to make; which joined with the second line having to pass the baggage and tents of the first by columns, occasioned that the whole could not at all so rightly join; till at length, on the enemies appearing, the right wing made a halt, and the whole was formed as the letter C. represents: whereby it may be observed, the right wing extended itself for its security, 'till close on the Temes; or, rather more properly speaking, a morass, which the Temes furnishes: our left stretching along the plain, without any possibility of covering it; which induced the enemy, after reconnoitering our right, and observing there could be nothing on that quarter advantageously undertaken, to turn their first effort towards our left wing, which was composed of Philippi's dragoons, and Hohenzollern's cuirassiers, commanded by count Styrum general of the cavalry, lieutenant-general Berlichingen, and major-general Houler, who, with the infantry



infantry of chur Bayern, under the command of lieutenant-CHAP.  
general Minuzzie, with the other infantry of the wing advancing, frustrated the attempt designed there; obliging them to I.  
try another quarter, which naturally proved to be our left flank, as shewn by letter D. happening to be composed of two battalions of Grun, and two of imperial Wolfenbuttle, commanded by lieutenant feldt-marshal baron Thungen, and major-general count Konigseck; supported by Schr's regiment of cuirassiers, under the conduct of major-general Ciceri; which flank being quickly put to rights, so warmly received the advanced part of the enemy with their artillery, that they likewise failed here, in their design; but, however, by this manœuvre, they interrupted our progress forwards; because the flank, making front towards the enemy, could not move along with the line fronting towards their grand body, no more than the line durst move towards the flank, should it have advanced to interrupt their wheeling round it, as they did with design to fall in the rear of the left of our second line, which being composed of the two regiments of Altham, and Diemar, commanded by major-general Philibert, had orders to wheel instantly, and so to front the enemy; as also did the Bavarian, and imperial infantry, on that wing of the second line, who, without firing a small shot, but by under corporals near the chevaux de frise for that purpose, kept the enemy at a due distance. A report of all which manœuvre being seen to be carried on by a Turk, mounted upon a grey horse, towards the center of their most formidable corps, it was supposed, as he was observed to place himself at the head



BOOK of the most considerable column of them, that, after his reports, he had received orders from the Doshe pascha, to head a detachment, and try his fortune upon the center of our first line; which he did with so good a countenance, that, before he approached the line by several paces, first the regiment of Preising's dragoons, then the regiment of St. Ignon's, both threw away their fires, abandoning their posts in the greatest confusion, over-running a great part of the regiments of Daun, Heister, and Max Staremburg, who likewise were thrown into confusion; consequently, leaving a most considerable blank in the first line, wherein there entered, for our good fortune, but a small body of the enemy, in comparison to what there might have done; who, nevertheless, according to their custom, made very good use of their time: but being abandoned, as still generally those bravoes are amongst the Turks, most of them were soon cut to pieces, by three regiments of cavalry, who marched out of the second line to sustain the first, or rather to fill up the blank now made; one of which was likewise broke by the head of the before-mentioned column of Turks, who even pierced through the second line, which was not difficult to be done, considering how, by the before-mentioned manœuvre, there was a blank in both lines, and a great many troops in confusion betwixt them; which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences, had the Turkish irregular discipline been capable of reaping the advantages such an accident gives; or had their whole body that was there done their duty; which never happening, is the reason their multitudes are attended with  
so



so few decisive victories: unless when, by injudicious retreats, CHAP. it is thrown into their hands; as one may easily observe from I. what happened here: for, notwithstanding their being as successful as they could wish, all was soon rectified by the bravery and conduct of the feldt-marshal, who, happening to be close by the regiment of Preising when it broke, immediately ordered and even rallied himself, the infantry that had been thrown into confusion, making them first front, and take in flank those that were entering at the interval, till with other troops wheeling into the center, he filled up the before-mentioned blank; while the feldt zeug-masters did their utmost, in redressing the confusions that had happened elsewhere; likewise in making two ranks of both the first and second line, where it was necessary to face inwards; while the other two kept their proper front, towards the enemy without, who, by the providence of god, in not sustaining their friends, gave time to the broken troops to be rallied, and re-formed in the openings.

“ DURING which manœuvre, several hundreds of the Turks, who failed in their attempt on our rear, observing our camp by Jabuka, bent their course that way; doing little other damage than cutting off the heads of some Markatenters, and others, who were following our second line; for they were interrupted in whatever might be their design, by their now being able to observe the motion of our army towards their camp; which we, as yet, could see standing near Pan-sova; and which must have unavoidably fallen into our hands, had



BOOK had we but continued, with a little more vivacity, our pursuit  
 III. of the enemy, now retreating with the greatest expedition under the favour of a great rain, and our want of intrepidity; thereby saving their camp, after it was almost within our reach; retiring, unmolestedly, towards Vipalanka; and we, after an assurance of their retreat, occupying the camp of Pansova, where our whole army and equipage arrived on the 31st.

“ BUT I shall defer what happened afterwards; being of opinion that I cannot more properly, than here, insert the following abridged, and very just \* relation, of both actions: which I have thought myself obliged, with all the assistance I have been able to acquire, to be so particular about; especially as I was honoured with this relation from a very brave and worthy officer, who served as adjutant-general at both; doubting not it will be the more satisfactory, the more relations are set forth of such transactions; which can, by no one person, however penetrating, be particularly recited from a personal knowledge.

\* This account was given to the earl of Craufurd by count Luchesi, and, by the particular direction of a general officer, was at first intended to be inserted in this work: but it has been since thought proper to omit it, as it is written in French, and is very similar to the proceeding accounts given by prince Charles of Lorraine, and the earl of Craufurd.



## CHAP. II.

A short introduction to the siege of Belgrade : a journal of the siege, wrote under the direction of the earl of Craufurd : the treaty of peace ; and the conclusion of the war : with some reflections on the states of the three contending empires.

**B**ELGRADE, which the Turks invested immediately CHAP.  
after the battle of Krotzka, is the capital city of II.  
the province of Servia, situate on a hill on the south  
side of the Danube, at its confluence with the river Saave, in  
21° 20' of east longitude, and 45 of north latitude ; being  
three hundred and forty miles south-east of Vienna, three  
hundred miles south-east of Presburg, sixty miles south of  
Temeswaer, and four hundred and fifty miles north-west of  
Constantinople. The town, at this time, was large, very  
advantageously situated for trade, and one of the strongest  
fortresses in Europe. It was taken from the christians by  
Solyman the magnificent, in the year 1521, and retaken by  
the Imperialists in 1686, under the conduct of the duke of  
Bavaria ; but the Turks got possession of it again in 1688,  
which they maintained till the year 1717, when the Impe-  
rialists, commanded by prince Eugene of Savoy, defeated the  
Turkish



BOOK Turkish army, and reduced Belgrade, which continued under  
III. the subjection of the court of Vienna till the year 1739,  
when the battle of Krotzka restored it to the Ottomans: but  
as there was so great a difference in the conduct of the two  
imperial generals, it may be necessary to observe in what man-  
ner prince Eugene acquired so great a victory, and how he  
obliged the town to surrender.

THIS illustrious commander, at the head of 80,000  
men, undertook this important siege in May 1717: he hap-  
pily executed his passage over the Danube, under the very eyes  
of the infidels: he invested the place, which was then de-  
fended by a garrison of 30,000 men: he threw up lines of  
circumvallation from the Saave to the Danube, of such a  
wonderful structure, that they still leave behind him a noble  
remembrance around those eminencies, sufficient to evidence  
what grand imaginations that elevated genius was capable of  
forming, in order to accomplish his enterprises: for, by  
this means, he fixed a barrier to oppose the Turkish army  
commanded by the grand vizer, consisting of 150,000 men,  
which appeared on the circumjacent hills, and inclosed the  
Imperialists between them and the town; thereby reducing  
the besiegers to the hard condition of the besieged.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL Oglethorpe, who was then a  
captain of the British guards, served in the imperial army;  
having been recommended to prince Eugene by the duke of  
Marlborough, as the most accomplished gentleman in Great-  
Britain



Britain to assist his highness in the study of such histories as CHAP. II.  
might serve to improve his military genius, by shewing him  
how to imitate the conduct of ancient heroes: so that prince  
Eugene appointed Mr. Oglethorpe to lie in his quarters, where  
he made use of him to collect and translate passages from Greek  
and Latin authors; putting him upon the rank of volunteer  
under the adjutant-generals, which is the same thing as an  
aid du camp in France, and in which character Mr. Oglethorpe  
was extremely serviceable; particularly when the prince went  
down the Danube to secure a post for an intended bridge; at  
which time the boats were so crowded with men, that there  
was no room for any horses, not even those belonging to  
the adjutant-generals; so that Mr. Oglethorpe, being nimble  
of foot, became very useful in carrying orders, which made  
the prince entertain a great opinion of his secretary.

GENERAL Oglethorpe has related to me several interesting  
particulars in regard to this campaign; but, as they were not  
intended for this work, I shall only mention, that when prince  
Eugene was in this terrible situation, between a superior force,  
and a garrison numerous enough to form a second army apart,  
he ordered Mr. Oglethorpe to translate the account given by  
Cæsar of his siege of Alesia; as also some parts out of  
Thucydides relating to the Peloponnesian war; and, from  
Appian of Alexandria, that part of the Numantine war re-  
garding the disposition of Scipio in surrounding his enemy.  
His highness seemed to follow the example of Cæsar, who  
inclosed Alesia with a ditch and a rampart, eleven miles in  
circuit,



BOOK circuit, which he fortified against the town; and afterwards  
 III. took in fourteen miles in circuit without the town, which he  
 also fortified against the enemy in camp: for Vercingetorix  
 had a garrison of 80,000 men in the town, and the Gallic  
 princes had sent an army of 248,000 men to raise the siege:  
 however, they were defeated; and Cæsar became master of  
 Alesia; in the same manner as prince Eugene destroyed the  
 Turkish army, and reduced Belgrade: though Marius set them  
 both a precedent, by the method he took in defeating the  
 Cimbri. When the Ottomans threatened the Imperialists with  
 an attack, prince Eugene was sensible they were constrained,  
 by the quality and situation of the place, from forming a front  
 of more extent than the line which was to be attacked; so  
 that their great superiority of number could not afford them  
 the least advantage; they were met, engaged, and defeated,  
 with the loss of ten thousand men killed on the field of battle,  
 three thousand in their flight, five thousand wounded, and  
 about the same number taken prisoners: the Imperialists ha-  
 ving two thousand slain, and four thousand wounded; which  
 was followed by the surrender of Belgrade, Ram, Semendria,  
 Meadia, Sabatz, and Orsova. This may bring to our con-  
 sideration what number of men, well martialled, and under  
 good discipline, are a competent proportion for any service.  
 The army which Xerxes carried into Greece, was remarkable  
 for its multitude, which was so great, that when he returned  
 into Asia, he left behind him 300,000 of his best soldiers,  
 under the conduct of Mardonius; and it was equally re-  
 markable, that of so many fighting men, there was 260,000  
 slain



slain in one battle, only with the loss of one thousand three hundred Greeks : from whence it is apparent, that the conquest of a kingdom does not necessarily follow the multitude of soldiers in an army : for either this Persian army was too few in number to conquer Greece, or too many to be well martialled. The Romans had seldom above ten legions in an army ; but their conquering armies were commonly far under that proportion : Marius with 50,000 men defeated the Cimbri, who were so numerous as to make a battle of thirty square furlongs, when he slew 120,000, and took 60,000 prisoners : and Alexander subdued all Asia with 32,000 men.

It is an adage, as true as it is old, that one misfortune is generally succeeded by another : which was verified by the Imperialists after the battle of Krotzka, when the Turks carried on the siege of Belgrade, and obtained possession of the town ; as is particularly related in the following journal, written under the direction of the earl of Craufurd.

THE Turks who had invested this important fortress on the 26th of July 1739, upon the south side, with 90,000 men, from the Danube to the Saave, continued their works as before related in his lordship's observations, to the 29th, when they completed their line of contravallation round their army, from one of these rivers to the other ; and cannonaded the town with sixteen pieces, and a battery of nine haubitizers ; but the garrison, which consisted of nineteen battalions under the command of general Suckoff, greatly incommoded the



BOOK besiegers, who were also annoyed from the two men of war in  
III. the river. It was now observed, by all the fountains being dry,  
that the enemy were endeavouring to deprive the garrison of  
water; so that orders were given, that all the women, and  
children, as also the baggage, and all unuseful people, should,  
in the space of forty-eight hours abandon the city.

ON the 30th, the more to secure the redoubt over the  
Danube, which was only guarded with one officer, and thirty  
Zardaken; a captain with two subaltern officers, and one hun-  
dred and fifty men, were ordered there as a reinforcement:  
in the mean time, the besiegers cannonaded the town with  
thirty small cannons and some large ones, but did no confide-  
rable damage. At the same time, his excellency count Wallis  
sent into the town, by the captain de Guides, four colours,  
and one Turkish kettle-drum, which he had gained in the  
action at Pansova, that they might be put upon the ramparts;  
which was immediately done upon the bastion St. Charles, in  
sight of the enemy; who, towards night, caused a great corps  
to enter their contravallation line on the side of the Danube,  
with sound of music, to pre-posefs the governor with a notion  
that a new reinforcement was arrived in the camp.

ON the 31st, the besiegers continued a brisk cannonade  
with their thirty pieces; as also to throw bombs into the town,  
by which great damage was done to the houses.

ON



ON the 1st of August, it was observed that the besiegers were very busy in erecting batteries, and making their approaches near the Danube and Messax; particularly a battery upon the top of the stone bridge, which might do considerable damage to the works; so that, by this time, the besiegers cannonaded the town with above forty pieces; throwing great stones, haubitzes, and granades, out of seven pollern, or mortars. The bridge, over the Danube, and canal, by the redoubt was very near finished, under the direction of the major engineer, who was further to undertake to make a communication with the redoubt, where lieutenant-colonel Grady had the command; besides, the redoubt over the Saave was ordered to be guarded by two battalions of Maroli, for whose security four hundred hussars and national militia were posted along the river. As the people were much fatigued by so frequently mounting guard, and working so closely on the fortifications, the commandant ordered that every person standing sentinel on the ramparts, should have half a measure, or a pint of wine; and that every person at work, should have a seidel, or half a pint of wine, besides the usual wages of twelve kreutzers, or about five-pence half-penny sterling. The besiegers played so constantly all night with bombs, as to convince the commandant, that they had more mortars than he could have expected; however most of them burst in the air.

ON



## BOOK

## III.

ON the 2d of August in the morning, the besiegers saluted the town with above fifty cannon; which made several of the inhabitants forsake their houses: the besiegers were also erecting a battery in the vineyards by the outward Razen town; whereby, they intended to ruin the two bridges laid over the Saave. This day, between six and seven in the morning, it was observed that the besiegers had one hundred weight or more of powder blown up at once in their trenches; however, they ruined four of the town galleries; though without doing any considerable harm to the Levettis.

ON the 3d, the besiegers, having reinforced their battery upon the stone bridge with some great guns, cannonaded the town very hard; particularly the bastion St. Charles; though without any material damage. In the afternoon, his excellency the general feldt-marshal came from the camp into the town, to see the condition of the besieged; when he ordered that the three Raaber shaikes should keep post by the redoubt over the Danube, to reconnoitre up the river; and also that upon each bastion, to right and left, the miners should be posted to observe that the exterior galleries were worked straight out in a proportion, so as to give us an opportunity of discovering the enemies mines.

ON the 4th, a messenger came out of the besiegers camp, with a white colour, as usual, in his hand; who was sent from the grand vizir; upon which an officer, and four grenadiers, were



were immediately ordered to meet him, who found that he CHAP. II.  
brought three letters to the commandant; of which the first  
was to the commanding general count Wallis, the second to  
count Seckendorf, and the third to the marquis de Villeneuve,  
the French ambassador: besides another packet, which was  
immediately dispatched according to its proper directions. The  
enemy continued day and night, to cannonade the town with  
above fifty cannons; as also to throw bombs out of nine  
mortars: but, by a ball from one of the town pieces upon the  
bastion of St. Theresia, a Turk of distinction was killed, as  
he was riding with a long staff in his hand to the Zugeiner  
town; who was interred with great ceremony. The besieged  
also erected batteries in different places, so that they might the  
more easily reach the flank of the besiegers battery; who,  
during the night, carried their line, about one thousand paces  
to the left hand down towards the Ratzen town, where they  
were busy in raising a battery, with which they could pretty  
near approach the town.

ON the 5th, by sun-rise, the besiegers were to march in  
order of battle from the Seckendorf hospital to the lower  
Ratzen town; but returned immediately after, with beat of  
drums and music, to their camp; they also advanced their  
approaches from the stone bridge towards the emperor's gate,  
about four or five hundred paces, and then began to cannonade  
from eleven batteries, mounted with between seventy and  
eighty cannon whose calibers were from ten to thirty-six  
pounders; they had likewise three other batteries with  
nine



Book nine mortars, from whence they threw bombs into the  
 III. town, from ten to eighty-six pound weight: by which continual cannonading, and bombarding, they ruined a great many houses, wounded some people, and killed others; among which number was count Kevenhuller captain of Molck's regiment, who was killed by a cannon shot. About noon, the besiegers begun to point their cannon to the works, and damaged the face of St. Elizabeth's bastion. The besieged were employed the whole night, in working on the traverse by the Saave; also major Purschiz, was sent up that river with two shalups to set the Zugeiner town in ashes.

ON the 6th, towards day, it was observed that the besiegers had erected another battery to the right of the emperor's hospital, where they planted eighteen colours; which caused the besieged to fire strongly upon it from St. Theresia's bastion: but the besiegers so strongly cannonaded and bombarded the town, as to destroy the little gate by the Wurtemberger gate.

ON the 7th, the besieged begun to raise a new battery upon St. Charles's bastion, as also a bomb battery upon St. Benedict's bastion; but they observed, that some of the Turkish ships came up and were unloading near their retrenchments, which was thought to be ammunition and artillery. The besiegers advanced so briskly as to get within four hundred yards of Elizabeth's bastion; by which they gave the besieged to understand, that they intended to batter in breach: they also drew a line from the free place of the Jews to the mosch before the  
 2 Wurtemberger



Wurtemberger gate, and from thence to the butchers little CHAP. houses, where they raised a battery directly opposite to the em- II. peror's gate: but they slackened in their cannonading, while they begun to fire pretty briskly with their small arms from behind the trenches, and the pallisades about the hospital, and out of the ordovirish line, they also took the advantage of the night, in making one line from the mosch to the pallisades, and from thence to the Ratzen town; and another, two hundred paces before the house of Schmettau.

THE cannonading continued on the 8th, when the besieged played from three large mortars against the hospital, and the out-works of the besiegers; the besieged were also closely at work on the new battery near the Danube, and in undermining the high batteries. In the mean time, the besiegers took three boats manned, and four empty ones, up the Saave: upon which major Jurschitz, of the national militia, was immediately sent with two shaicks upwards, who brought the report that two of the boats had been burnt, and that the besiegers had destroyed some of the others.

ON the 9th, the besieged erected two new batteries between the bastions of St. Stephen and St. Joseph, and the Danube; as also another battery behind the bastion of St. Charles, and another by the Ratzen town opposite the Saave; where, as the river was so much fallen, that the besiegers might make use of it, to approach in the night-time, a breast work was made for small arms; as also a communication and opening



BOOK opening on the high works, beginning from St. Xavier's bastion, behind the bastions of Elizabeth, Benedict, and Mariana; for which all the little houses from the Wurtemberger gate, to the Temeswaer gate were pulled down. The two shaiks, sent up the Saave, to see if the besiegers were endeavouring to lock up that river, came back, and informed the commandant that the Turks had not the necessary pontoons for such a purpose; and that they had a short skirmish, whereby one German was killed, and nine wounded; but the besiegers suffered more. The works in the town, were now so numerous that not only the burgers, but also all the Ratzens, and vagabonds, that could be picked up, were employed in carrying them on; while the besiegers continued to throw into the town a great many bombs, granades, and haubitzes; as also to fire briskly with small arms, and above eighty cannons.

ON the 10th, by break of day, the besiegers began to fire strongly upon the town, as also against the bastions of St. Benedict, and Elizabeth; which they continued all day, thereby intimating as if they would batter in breach against both bastions, particularly St. Elizabeth's; wherefore a council of war was called by the commandant, when it was resolved to raise a new defence by the Capchin cloister, that, in case of any approaching storm, these works might be the better seconded. The besiegers likewise enlarged their two parallel lines, and made use of the fofs that went round the vineyards to make a communication with these lines; they also raised two new batteries upon the stone bridge, and one behind the

two



two lines near the church-yard. And this day, the besieged CHAR.  
received intelligence that, yesterday in the afternoon, the three II.  
ships of war, which remained below on the Danube, where  
the Temes enters into it, were blown up by the commanding  
officers, who found it impossible to bring their ships up the  
river. The besiegers in the night, raised several batteries;  
one above the Schmettau house, two before the stone bridge,  
and another of twelve guns.

ON the 11th, the Bosniac auxiliary troops arrived, and took  
their camp on the heighth near the Saave: the Turkish shaiks,  
after the imperial ships of war had been blown up, shewed  
themselves above Wisnitsa, and in the afternoon landed at the  
Turkish camp, as also on the banks of the bannat. While  
the besieged, for more security and defence, began to work  
on a retrenchment at the gorge of Elizabeth's bastion: and  
the six hundred horse, and three battalions, besides three com-  
panies of grenadiers, who had been posted on the other side  
of the Danube, near the Porcha, were drawn over into the  
town; when the cavalry went to join the imperial army at  
Semlin; but the infantry was kept to reinforce the garrison.

THE besiegers, by break of day on the 12th, brought their  
two lines from the burial-place to the brick-houses near the  
Danube, and began to fire upon the town, where they were  
expected to batter in breach, at the bastion of St. Elizabeth;  
but they only continued to molest the town with cannon balls  
and bombs. The besiegers marched this day, as well with



Book III. ~~horses~~ as waggons, up towards the river Saave; while the ~~the~~ sieged had their bridge laid over the Saave broken down, as also the bridge near the Wurtemberger gate; and repaired the defence with small arms, as likewise with a Ravelin; and made a new retrenchment, because it could not be foreseen, where the besiegers might begin their attack, with which they constantly threatened the town; and, therefore, the whole garrison drew out at night for the first time, and entered again towards day, there being, the same night, double fire-arms given upon all the Ravelins, as also in the redoubt over the Danube. But the besiegers were equally employed all the night; during which time, they erected a battery of six mortars behind the second line of Seckendorf's hospital, also a battery of six cannons before the Schmettauish house, and another of five cannons by the Ratzen town; with which they began to fire, on the 13th, particularly with the latter, upon the bastion of St. Francis, and Theresia. The Bosniac troops, which had encamped on the heighth of the Saave, broke up this morning, and entered the Turkish camp in their lines, with flying colours and music; attended with a great many pack horses, and waggons. This afternoon five battalions, and five companies of grenadiers, under the command of major-general count Konigseck, entered the town from the imperial army, by which the garrison was considerably reinforced; who, a few hours after, were followed by general Schulemburgh. In the mean time, the lower bridge over the Saave, was carried up towards the Danube, under an escort; and the new retrenchment, in the bastion of St. Elizabeth, was



was encompassed with pallisades to prevent any surprise from the besiegers. Colonel Gros, with secretary Schwacheim, interpreter of the oriental language, who had passed through the town, to the Turkish camp at six o'clock in the morning, returned about three in the afternoon; at which time, the besieged began to raise a new battery of four half coehorns over the emperor's gate. CHAP. II.

ON the 14th, the besiegers slackened their fire all the day, while they were erecting a new battery before the brick-houses by the Danube, and another not far from it in the plain. Of the eight imperial ships of war, six went up to Peterwardin, and two armed ones remained at Belgrade, under the command of general Pallavicini: after which, the Cameral bridge over the Saave was broke up, the Peterwardin gate was shut, and the ferry-boats ordered in the water-town: and, this night, the besiegers bombs ruined three of the imperial batteries, besides committing other damages in different places; having also, in that time, erected a battery of five guns, and another of two, before the stone bridge: and, by transporting some boats, it appeared that they intended to make a bridge over the Saave by Osterbach.

ON the 15th, the besiegers renewed their fire; and the besieged made six flatter mines in the bastion of St. Benedict.

ON the 16th, colonel Gros, went again to the Ottoman camp, and returned about nine at night; during which time, the



BOOK the cannonading ceased on both sides; but, after his return,  
III. it was briskly renewed. A trumpeter with letters, from the  
imperial army to the Ottoman camp, passed through the town; while the besiegers erected a new battery of eight guns, besides the other of seven, which they had already above the Ratzen town; when they had most of the cannons from the first battery carried off, and brought into the new raised batteries below the stone bridge.

ON the 17th, colonel Gros went again to the Turkish camp, and returned about ten at night. The commandant caused four twenty-four pounders to be carried from the castle to the new battery above the emperor's gate, while the besiegers erected a battery of six cannons nearer the hospital, to the right hand of the pallisades; not neglecting strongly to cannonade the bastion of St. Francis, with two batteries, before the Ratzen town; and they employed the night in erecting another battery, behind the other line, betwixt the hospital and great mosch; from whence they fired with twelve cannons, upon the bastion of St. Charles: they also augmented their battery by the old brick-houses near the Danube; and continued to work on the other line by the Ratzen town, carrying it to the plain towards the Saave.

ON the 18th, in the morning, general feldt zeug-master count Neuperg, with colonel count Gros, and the oriental interpreter, secretary Schwacheim, went to the Ottoman camp.

ON



ON the 19th, the besiegers had their line near the Ratzen town, and the other works in the plain, finished; when, with their cannon and bombs, they fired, without intermission, upon the town and works: they also had five shaiks carried by land from the Danube to the Saave; but they retired on the approach of three of the imperial vessels. The Turkish corps, posted in the bannat, reconnoitred the redoubt over the Danube, and founded the morafs round it; some of them approaching so near, that the Imperialists fired upon them, killing some, and wounding others.

As the besiegers saw that the imperial shaiks prevented them from getting their boats into the Saave, they made a battery on the 20th, with which they could fire both upon the imperial shaiks, and the cavalry posted in Syrmien; who were therefore obliged to retire a little: after which, the besiegers put their shaiks and boats into the Saave, and began to build a bridge over the arm of it, by the isle Odovorish. The besiegers corps in the bannat attempted nothing upon the redoubt on the 21st; and those on the other side made nothing new in their approaches, except that they fired strongly upon both the bastions of St. Francis and Theresia, and upon the courtine by the emperor's gate: while prince Hilburg-hausen, with a strong corps of infantry and cavalry, arrived near Semlin. But the besiegers, in the night, compleated their bridge over the arm of the Saave, by the Odovorish isle; for the security of which, they planted seven cannon on  
some



BOOK some resting ground there, and put five shaiks below the bridge  
 III. into the water: they also, this night, began to make attacks  
 upon the redoubt on the other side of the Danube, and had  
 raised a battery of four sharten; out of which, they fired  
 with two cannon as well upon the redoubt, as upon the ship  
 of war which had fallen down.

ON the 22d, nothing material was undertaken, on account  
 of the heavy rains; but prince Hilburghausen's corps broke  
 up at Semlin, and encamped betwixt Surotin and Bessaria.

THERE was little firing on either side, during the whole  
 morning of the 23d; but in the afternoon they made amends  
 by an extraordinary fire. The besiegers did not work either  
 on their line, or batteries: but, in the afternoon, the besieged  
 sent one hundred grenadiers in five shaiks over the Danube, to  
 take post at an old ruined work, above the redoubt, to prevent  
 the besiegers taking this advantage; they also raised a battery,  
 in the night, on the rising ground above the bastion of St. Charles,  
 whereon four half coehorns were to be placed; in the two  
 traverses the breast work was raised higher; and a covert was  
 likewise made in the ravelin.

ON the 24th the besiegers raised a new battery of three  
 cannon by the Schmettauish house, from whence they cano-  
 naded the bastions of St. Elizabeth and Mariana; they also  
 began to work upon the isle, which made it conjectured that  
 they would make a tette de pont; because their finished bridge  
 over



over the arm of the Saave lay thereabouts, opposite to which, CHAP.  
and near the redoubt over the Danube, several of the Turkish II.  
cavalry had been most of the day.

ON the 25th, the besiegers fired the whole day without ceasing, upon the town, and its works; playing a great number of bombs, which did considerable damage: they likewise augmented the funk battery of one cannon, with another cannon, and cannonaded that side of the town with it; as they did the redoubt with the other battery of three guns: though they undertook nothing this day, on the side of the Saave. But his excellency general feldt zeug-master baron Schmettau arrived in the town; who, in the afternoon, visited and examined the redoubt, as also the isle on the Danube to raise some new works there.

ON the 26th, his excellency general Schmettau returned again to the army; and the besiegers, in the morning, began to fire upon the town, and the redoubt; when they finished their two lines from the Porcha to the Gzardacken; at the same time, they were busy in finishing their retrenchments that had been laid up and down over the Danube.

ON the 27th, the besieged begun to raise retrenchments from the Neuberger covered roads, to the ravelin, and from the bastion St. Xavier: but the besiegers undertook nothing either upon the isle on the Saave, nor the town, or the redoubt over the Danube; except that they fired very hard upon  
K k the



BOOK the bastions of St. Elizabeth and Francisci, to make a breach  
III. there.

ON the 28th, the besiegers fired but little, and played only a few bombs the whole day; neither did they attempt any thing upon the town; nor wrought on any of their batteries. The besieged, during the night, sent three hundred men over the Danube, to raise a retrenchment near the redoubt there. The same night, the general feldt zeug-master baron Schmettau, with eighteen battalions, and as many companies of grenadiers, who altogether did not make up quite four thousand men, with eight field-pieces, crossed the Danube, and took post about five hundred paces from the approaches which the besiegers had made towards the Porcha: but as the besiegers, by break of day, were aware of this; their army, consisting of about 15,000 men, which lay encamped near the Porcha, was drawn out, and marched on all sides towards the feldt zeug-master, whose new posts they strongly cannonaded and bombarded; whereby eighteen men were killed or wounded: after the Turks had seen the Imperialists so advantageously posted, they advanced in some places about three hundred paces distant, and remained there till noon: during which time, the imperial shaiks, and boats of the ships of war, as well with cannon as small arms, charged the right wing of the Turks that was obliged to draw up on the side of the Danube; and, in the afternoon, this corps of the besiegers returned to their camp, without effecting any thing; the



the imperialists continuing briskly to raise the retrenchments, and the besiegers to fire. CHAP.  
II.

WITH these new posts over the Danube, the Imperialists, on the 30th, quite approached the besiegers redoubt: whereby not only this redoubt, but also the banks of the Danube on the other side, and the great Danube isle, which without doubt would have within twenty-four hours have fallen into the besiegers hands, as also the town of Belgrade, were so greatly secured, that, since the retrenchment was finished, no further attack of the enemy was to be dreaded. This day, the five battalions were relieved, with two thousand men; and feldt-marshal count Wallis also arrived this day with the army at Semlin, and pitched his camp above it: but the besiegers undertook nothing, except raising a new battery, and firing from the others.

ON the 31st, the besiegers continued their fire: and, this day, general feldt zeug-master baron Schmettau, took the command of general feldt-marshal lieutenant baron Suckoff: after which, the detachment of one thousand five hundred men over the Danube were relieved; and a bridge was begun over the Saave, by the new gate.

ON the 1st of September, a great fire was maintained on both sides all the morning; but, about eleven o'clock, the general feldt zeug-master Neuperg, who had been negotiating a treaty of peace in the Turkish camp since the 19th of last month,



BOOK month, sent in a note, by colonel Gros, importing that, "as  
III. the peace with the besiegers was very near concluded, the  
garrison should leave off firing, as also all other hostilities:" and  
his excellency, in the afternoon, came from the Turkish camp  
with hostages for the performance of the treaty: so that all  
the martial storm was now suspended; and the Turks openly  
appeared every where before their trenches; or riding, and  
walking, up and down in the fields.

ON the 2d of August, it was publickly reported that one  
of the articles of the treaty was "to surrender Belgrade to  
the Turks:" and, accordingly, orders were given to the inha-  
bitants to carry off all their effects, and clear the town in the  
space of five days; with this addition, not to pull a lock off  
the doors, nor take out a window, or break down a fire-place,  
under penalty of death.

NOTWITHSTANDING the advantages gained by the Turks  
at the battle of Krotzka, the prime vizir was continually  
offering propositions of peace, and had sent several messengers  
to the imperial army, while it was on the other side of the  
Danube. The propositions sent by these messengers, were  
communicated to the imperial court; and full powers were  
sent to count Wallis, to treat of, and conclude a peace:  
whereupon count Neuperg, repaired to the Turkish camp,  
with full powers from count Wallis, and at the desire of the  
French ambassador, who gave him passports for that purpose.

WHILST



WHILST the count was in the Turkish camp, advice was sent to him from the imperial camp, that a courier was arrived from the feldt-marshal count Munich, wherein he advised the imperial generals not to be too forward in their negotiations for a peace; for that he was able to make a powerful diversion in their favour, and even advance as far as the bannat of Temeswaer, if occasion required. Count Neuperg immediately told the news to the prime vizir, who made answer, with an air of indifference, "that he was not at all uneasy about the matter:" but as they had then an account that count Munich had passed the Niester, above Chotzim, and was consequently within three or four days march of Transylvania, the prime vizir was not so easy as he pretended: for he called a divan the same evening, and, as soon as it broke up, expresses were sent away to several places, particularly to the general of the Turkish forces in Walachia.

THESE considerations induced the prime vizir to accept of what count Neuperg had offered at his arrival, and to send an express to the Ottoman court for authority to do so: which being arrived, and the mediation of France having been required and accepted for this purpose; the marquis de Villeneuve, his most christian majesty's ambassador extraordinary at the Ottoman court, not only fulfilled the said mediation, but even acted in the beginning as his imperial majesty's plenipotentiary; and soon after the preliminary articles of peace were concluded and signed, whereby it was agreed,

THAT



## BOOK

## III.

“THAT the fortrefs of Belgrade ſhould be reſtored to the Ottoman empire; and that the new fortifications ſhould be demolifhed.

“THAT his imperial majeſty ſhould cede to the Porte all the Auſtrian Walachia, including the mountainous part: he ſhould likewiſe give up the fort Berifchan, which he built there; but the Porte ſhould demolifh it, and never fortify it again.

“THAT the iſland and fortrefs of Orſova, with fort St. Elizabeth, ſhould remain in the hands of the grand feignor in their preſent condition: and that the bannat of Temefwaer ſhould likewiſe remain entire in his imperial majeſty's poſſeſſion, as far as the confines of the Auſtrian Walachia.

“THAT within five days after the ſigning of theſe preliminaries, without including the day in which they were ſigned, the demolition of the fortifications of Belgrade ſhould be begun, and ſhould be continued without ceafing, under the inſpection of commiſſaries appointed by the Porte. That for the infuring the execution of this demolition, hoſtages of a proper rank, ſhould be given by his imperial and catholick majeſty, who ſhould repair to the Ottoman camp within five days after ſigning the preliminaries.

THAT



“THAT hostilities and contributions should cease from the day of signing the preliminaries.”

THIS preliminary treaty was followed by the definitive treaty concluded on the 18th of September, which ratified the former, and limited the truce to twenty-seven years. To this treaty there was annexed a declaration of the emperor's, importing that he did not intend by this treaty to derogate from the alliance subsisting between his imperial majesty and Russia: further adding, that though the peace might be upon the point of being concluded between this last power and the Porte, the emperor still reserved to himself, pursuant to the convention stipulated between their imperial and czarian majesties, the liberty of furnishing Russia with 30,000 men, in case, contrary to all expectations, the war should be continued between her and the Porte.

IN this manner the Turks repossest Belgrade, from which they had been ejected 22 years. Notwithstanding the garrison were under a heavy restriction from even mentioning a surrender, the place was delivered up; though the enemy, after five weeks open trenches, were five or six hundred paces from the city: the breach they had made was not considerable; and the intrenchment that had been made behind that breach, was as strong as the bastion before the breach was made: the garrison of the fort of Porcha had twice repulsed those that assaulted it: the opposite bank of the Danube was secure: and  
by



BOOK by the march of the army towards Semlin, the Turks were  
 III. prevented from passing the Saave: but if the imperialists had  
 acted in the same manner as a small body of Hungarians did  
 at the siege of Agria in 1652, when Mahomet Bassa invested  
 that town with 60,000 men, the event had been more ho-  
 nourable; for the Hungarians were only 2000, who endured  
 and repelled thirteen terrible assaults with fifty pieces of artil-  
 lery; and for the corroborating their high resolution, took a  
 mutual oath, that no man, upon pain of death, should once  
 speak of a treaty, or of surrendering the town; or to make  
 any answer to the enemy, but by harquebussé or the cannon:  
 so that though the bassa frequently offered a treaty, they only  
 shewed, for an answer to his summons, a funeral bier, lifted  
 above the wall between two piles, to signify their resolution  
 to defend the town to the last extremity.

WHEN Belgrade surrendered to prince Eugence, above  
 60,000 Turks were obliged to abandon the place in a very  
 necessitous condition: but now some thousands of miserable  
 Germans were compelled to quit their habitations to the Ot-  
 tomans. It was a melancholly prospect to see so many poor  
 wretches quitting their dwellings, and leaving their properties  
 to the Turks: so that what my worthy friend mr. Voltaire has  
 remarked on the distress of the inhabitants of Altena, when  
 general Steinbock too cruelly set fire to the whole place, may  
 be applied to the inhabitants of Belgrade; nor were those un-  
 happy sufferers much better received at Semlin, than those of  
 Altena were at Hamburgh, when they were refused admission  
 into



into the town ; in the same manner as the Mandubii were into CHAP.  
the Roman camp, after they had been expelled from Alefia. II.  
The earl of Craufurd, who was then ill of his wound in the  
castle of Belgrade, most heartily regretted the loss of so im-  
portant a place, and as heartily compassionated the deplorable  
case of the citizens: imitating, in this respect, the virtue of  
Marcus Marcellus at the siege of Syracuse; who having pos-  
sessed the upper part of the city, and looking down upon the  
Acradina below, which was the most beautiful, fortified, and  
ample part, is reported to have wept much, commiserating  
the calamity that hung over it, when his thoughts represented  
to him, how dismal and foul the face of the city would be  
when plundered and sacked by the soldiers; beholding all  
the riches accumulated during a long felicity, dissipated in a  
moment.

THIS peace was contrary to the nature of the alliance  
formed between the two imperial courts of Vienna and Peterf-  
burgh; it seemed to be disagreeable to the emperor, and no  
less so, both to the army, and to the populace at Vienna,  
who reflected with great vehemence upon the marquis de  
Villeneuve, and upon French mediation. The emperor en-  
deavoured to justify his conduct, by publishing a rescript, and  
writing to the czarina, whereby he declared, that the nego-  
ciation was carried on without his knowledge; that count  
Neuperg had acted contrary to his orders; and that the articles  
of the treaty were highly disapproved by his imperial majesty,  
who informed the czarina, "that, though he had many times  
L 1 experienced



BOOK experienced adversity, yet he never was so much afflicted with  
 III. any thing as with this event: that the fault lay entirely upon  
 such of his officers as ratified the wretched preliminaries without his knowledge, and against his consent, and even his express orders to the contrary. That, nevertheless, he ought to conform to what had once been ratified, though unjustly: for we must keep faith inviolably, even with infidels, while they observe it on their part: and that he was the first to own, that the counts Wallis and Neuperg were highly guilty."

THOUGH the czarina had reason to be dissatisfied with the emperor, for concluding a separate peace; yet, as she had no interest nor inclination to resent the injury, she was too wise to shew the least sign of uneasiness. However, his imperial majesty, after the conclusion of the definitive treaty, dispatched orders to count Wallis and count Neuperg; by which the first was charged to give up the command of the army to marshal Seher, and to repair to Zeget, there to remain under arrest, till the pleasure of his imperial majesty should be further known; and the other was charged to repair immediately to Orsch near Raab, there to remain under arrest till farther orders. Accordingly, both these generals repaired to the places of their confinement, where they continued during the remainder of the year; seeming to submit themselves entirely to the goodness and clemency of his imperial majesty; declaring, at the same time, the innocency of their intentions; which there is little room to suspect, when it is considered, that count Wallis wanted several things  
 necessary



neccessary for acting with vigour; and that count Neuperg, in CHAP. vindication of himself affirmed, that it was absolutely necessary II. to make the concessions he had agreed to, and to make them in such a precipitate manner, in order to prevent the Turks from penetrating that very campaign into Hungary; which it was not in the power of the small army the emperor had there, to prevent or retard, without running a very great risk of having it entirely sacrificed.

THE preliminaries of peace between the Russians and Turks were signed, soon after the treaty with the emperor and the grand seignor, in the Ottoman camp before Belgrade; which was followed by a definitive treaty, whereby it was stipulated,

“ THAT Asoph should remain to Russia, but be demolished, and its territory laid desert, to form a barrier between the two empires.

“ THAT Russia might build a fortress on this side of the Don, and the Porte another on their side of the river; but the city of Taganrock, built by Peter the great, on the sea of Asoph, should not be restored.

“ THAT the Russians should have no vessels either on the Palus-Mæotis or the Euxine; but should use the Turkish vessels in their commerce in those seas.



## BOOK

## III.

“THAT the limits of the two empires west of the Nieper, should be the same as regulated in 1706; Kudack remaining to the Porte, and the limits to the east of the Nieper to be settled by a new convention.”

UPON the signing of this treaty, count Munich relinquished his conquests in Bessarabia and Moldavia, repassed the Niester, and returned to the Ukrain through the Polish territories, accompanied by a multitude of Greeks and Moldavians, who had been too forward to declare in favour of Russia; this victorious general also brought off eight hundred pieces of brass cannon, with a booty amounting to three millions of rubles, or 1,350,000 l. sterling; whereby the whole war was terminated.

HUNGARY has long been considered as the barrier of Europe against the prodigious force of the Ottoman empire: the Germans have grown opulent by the arms of the Hungarians, the Italians lived by their funerals, the French slept quietly by their calamities, the Spaniards by their troubles were at leisure to acquire the possession of a new world, the English and Dutch dwelt in security by their danger, and the Poles followed their sports by their labour: Christians, in general, lived securely through their perpetual and contiguous dangers; so that Hungary was not only the inexpugnable rampart, but the buckler of Christendom. This was once the character of the Hungarians, when subject to their ancient monarchs, and governed



governed by their native princes, particularly by the famous Hunniades: but, since this kingdom has been made hereditary in the house of Austria, all its glory has been eclipsed, its revenue wasted, and its strength debilitated, so as to stand in need of assistance from the other dominions of Austria, on a Turkish invasion: which is a certain proof, that such kingdoms as made a considerable figure under their own princes, have scarce been able to maintain the charges of the civil government, when they become provinces to a foreign power. CHAP. II.

FOR this reason, the Ottoman force is more to be dreaded on the side of Germany than formerly: the grand vizir might certainly have taken Vienna, in 1683, if he had not retained a passionate desire to take the town by composition rather than by storm, which must have left all its wealth a prey to the soldiers, and not to the generals. If the Turks had possessed this city, what could have hindered them from being the immediate masters of Austria, and all its depending provinces? what could have prevented them from reducing Italy, or the southern provinces of Germany, as they should have chosen to carry on their invasion? and how fatal this might have been to the rest of Christendom, or how it might have enlarged the Turkish dominions, is easy to conjecture.

THE house of Austria, is now more incapable of opposing the Turks than ever: she has lost some of her finest provinces; consequently, a great part of her revenue, and a greater part of her strength; which would give the Ottomans an opportunity of



BOOK of extending their empire, if Russia had not seasonably grown  
III. up to check their insolence and ambition: by which means  
the balance of the world is supported.

SOLYMAN the magnificent, was used to say, "that he was overwearied with the many monarchies, and furcharged with the several dominions, which he possessed either by his own virtue, or that of his ancestors;" and Mustapha ii. in 1697, brought with him into the field, several waggons loaded with fetters and handcuffs, to put in irons, as he gave out, all the imperial officers, from the general to the lowest subaltern: but as Eugene disappointed the latter, so the Russians caused the present race of Turks to be of another opinion from Solyman. Without the assistance of Russia, the court of Vienna would be soon overpowered by the Ottomans: for the Turks are properly formed for invasion, and the Germans only for defence: besides, the former have this advantage, that rice is the only provision for their armies; of which grain, as every man is able upon occasion to carry enough for three days, so the quantity provided for every expedition, is proportionate to the number, with no distinction to the quality of men; a colonel, when upon a march, or in a camp, having no more allowed him than a private soldier: nor are any but general officers, encumbered with train or baggage, which gives them great advantages in the German wars, among whom every officer has a family in proportion to his command during the campaign, as well as in his quarters; and the very soldiers, like the British troops in the last French war, carried their wives with



with them into the field; whereas a Turkish army consists CHAP. II. only of fighting men; for they disdain the method of the ancient Asiatics, who carried their wives and concubines into the field with all their riches and treasure, to inspire them with double bravery: however, in this, the Ottomans are pretty well imitated by the Russians, who have only one woman to every squadron, or company.

CÆSAR says, that the Gauls were eager for war, but could not bear its calamities; which is evident from the easy defeat of the Unelli by Sabinus: the Suevi were bold and enterprising people, but they would make no resistance against the Romans: so the Turks, who are every day more and more enervated, may bend to the superior force of Russia, whose inhabitants are more naturally soldiers, than those of Turkey; for the northern bodies are greater and stronger than the southern, and also more healthy and vigorous. Therefore, as the true original greatness of any kingdom or nation may be accounted by the number of strong and able bodies of their native subjects, which is the natural strength of governments; the czarian empire may over-run the Ottoman, as that did the Grecian; for all the rest being art, discipline, or institution; these are to be acquired by the Muscovites, who will be then too formidable for the Mahometans of Turkey.

THE infirmities and conditions of human bodies, are likewise discovered in states and governments: for kingdoms and common-wealths, like men, are born, flourish, and fade through



BOOK through age ; they are equally subject to a repletion of humours ;  
 III. so that purging and phlebotomy are as necessary for the one  
 as the other. Upon this principle, colonies were founded, whereby a great number of families were dismissed to disburthen the country : thus the Franks left the high countries of Germany, and possessed themselves of Gaul, from whence they displaced the first inhabitants : thus grew that infinite confluence of people, which afterwards, under Brennus and others, over-ran Italy : thus the Goths and Vandals, as also the Turks, left their natural countries, and situated themselves in others, where they had more room for advantage and property : there is the greatest probability, that, in this manner, the Russians will send forth a swarm of their inhabitants to take possession of the greatest part of the Turkish dominions ; for though the Persians had frequently invaded Greece ; yet, when an Alexander appeared, the Greeks invaded Persia, and took possession of the empire : which occasioned Darius to observe, that thus we are all sensible of the inconstancy of fortune, and that each nation affects a sovereignty over the other.

It was one of the ordinances of Lycurgus, that the Spartans should not make war often, or long, with the same enemy ; for fear they should train and instruct them in the military art ; and, by obliging them to defend themselves, at length teach them to be the aggressors. This was the case of Sweden under Charles xii. who was as culpable for invading Russia, as teaching the Muscovites the knowledge of war ; as Agesilaus was for making such continual incursions into Bæotia, and instructing the



the Thebans to make head against the Lacedæmonians. This CHAP.  
has been the case of the Mussulman power against Russia, and, II.  
if it continues, the czarian eagle must perch triumphant over  
the Ottoman crescent: though, in a political light, it is the  
interest of the courts of Petersburg and Constantinople to  
continue in a state of tranquility with each other, and to have  
a cautious eye on the Persians, who, if properly commanded,  
might always endanger Russia, and subdue Turkey, as easily  
as Kouli Kan reduced India.



## CHAP. III.

An account of the earl of Craufurd's behaviour before he received his wound at the battle of Krotzka, and the manner in which he was brought off the field. Together with a journal of his voyage up the Danube from Belgrade to Vienna: his journey from thence to Hanover; and his return to England: the whole interspersed with a relation of the process of the wound.

BOOK  
III.

**A**S the earl of Craufurd received a desperate and fatal wound at the battle of Krotzka, it is necessary to shew his behaviour in this engagement, in what manner he received the wound, and how much he suffered by it; wherein his lordship evidently shewed that truly noble spirit which is the greatest ornament of military virtue; bravery in action, and patience in enduring afflictions.

DURING the nightly march towards Krotzka, his lordship was in full spirits; sometimes in company with marshal Wallis, sometimes with several other general officers, but more generally with his favourite friend the prince of Waldeck, until about  
three



three o'clock in the morning, when they approached pretty CHAP. near the enemy; which his lordship knew, by having accom- III. panied general Bernclau, with his reconnoitering detachment, the night before: whereupon, his lordship, and a Prussian general, who served as a volunteer, rode up to the van-guard of the imperial army, composed of Rascians and hussars; where they joined the commanding officer of this corps, whom the earl of Craufurd acquainted, that they could not be far off the advanced post of the enemy, and advised him to give orders to be very silent in their march.

ACCORDINGLY, before they had advanced above fifty yards, a corps of Turks, who had lodged in the wood on both sides the defile, begun the prelude of the day, by suddenly saluting them with their musketry; which put the Rascians into such confusion, that they all hastily made off, except about ten or twelve, whom the earl of Craufurd headed, and encouraged, by crying, "Heide, Heide," an animating word used by the Rascians on the commencement of an attack. However, these kept their ground only for a few moments; when, looking back, and seeing their comrades retreating, they also drew off in hurry and confusion; whereby his lordship's groom of the horse, was shuffled into a dry ditch, by which accident he lost sight of his lordship, till after he was wounded.

HIS lordship was attended in this march by no more servants than his groom of the horse, another groom with a led horse, and a Russian servant whom he had brought with him



BOOK from Peterburgh. The led horse was killed at first in the de-  
 III. file, as was also the Russian servant, and his lordship apprehended that his groom of the horse was likewise among the dead; so that, upon the retreat of the last Rascians, his lordship returned through the defile, and joined Palfi's cuirassiers who were then advancing forwards to the attack. It was here that the earl of Craufurd conspicuously signalized his courage, which carried him into the thickest scene of danger: every officer in this regiment behaved with the utmost gallantry; they were animated with the presence of their principal commander, and every soldier was exasperated at the insolence of the Turkish Spahees, one of whom galloped up to the earl of Craufurd, whose eye was directed another way; but a German officer alarmed his lordship with the danger, who instantly fired his pistol, and shot the Turkish desperadoe dead at his feet; in the same manner as prince Eugene drove his sword through the body of the Janissary who clove his head-piece with a sabre, as his highness mounted the breach at Belgrade; which was a nobler preservation than that of John Sobieski king of Poland at the battle of Barcan, in 1683, when a Turk had actually lifted up his sabre against, and had undoubtedly dispatched the king, if another person had not slain him in the very instant.

IN every war, the Turks have a great number of volunteer cavalry, or adventurers, called Gionulli, who live at their own charge, in expectation of succeeding such Zaims and Timariots as fall in their service; and these, to raise their fortunes, will engage



engage in the most desperate enterprises; for they not only CHAP.  
promise themselves an estate if they survive, but are taught, III.  
that if they die in a war against Christians, they shall go im-  
mediately to paradise. The earl of Craufurd was well ac-  
quainted with the nature of these Gionulli, whom he had  
frequently seen acting the part of bravoes against the Russians;  
by singly leaving their posts, and advancing towards the enemy  
with a shew of challenge to any one that would venture to  
engage them; which occasioned his lordship, a few days be-  
fore the battle of Krotzka, to tell his groom of the horse, the  
nature of the Turkish bravadoes, and that, if he found an op-  
portunity, he was determined to rush out upon the first he  
saw; ordering his groom to attend his motion: which was a  
resolution somewhat similar to that which Craffinus made to  
Cæsar at the battle of Pharsalia, who as gallantly put it into  
execution; but the earl of Craufurd had no opportunity of  
signalizing himself upon any of these adventurers. However,  
he imitated the examples of Fabius Maximus, and Scipio the  
destroyer of Carthage and Numantium, who were both the  
sons of Paulus Emilius, whom they attended in their youth at  
the battle of Pydne, and valiantly assisted their father in his  
defeat of Perseus: like them, the earl of Craufurd was eager  
to engage among the foremost: and like them, he made the  
enemy astonished at his valour.

WHILE his lordship was thus gallantly engaging with the  
regiment of Palfi, his favourite Spaniard was shot under him;  
which was a beautiful black horse, whose noble behaviour in  
the



BOOK the field, was afterwards frequently commended by his lordship; who used to say, "that he was of opinion, if his Spaniard had not been killed, he might have escaped the wound he received;" and when any of his acquaintance mentioned the Spaniard to his lordship, he generously regretted him by saying, "oh! my brave Spaniard! he was a fine soldier's horse, indeed!"

WHEN his lordship had thus lost his favourite horse, and all his attendants, one of the officers supplied him with another horse; upon which his lordship was soon afterwards wounded, and fell to the ground; from whence his friend general count Luchesi caused him to be carried off by some grenadiers, who set him upon one of the count's horses, whose servant led his lordship through the ranks of Palfi's cuirassiers; in which condition, his groom of the horse found his lordship about eight o'clock, holding the mane of the horse with both his hands, no hat upon his head, and his face of a dead pale complexion. The groom instantly leapt from his horse, and ran to his lordship, who seemed agreeably surprised to see his servant again, attending by his side; though his lordship appeared to be in great agony, as they conducted him towards the defile, where his lordship had been deserted by the Rascians early in the morning, and where some of the imperial infantry were yet marching up to the engagement. His lordship's favourite servant enquired all the way for a surgeon, and, after they had entered about one hundred paces into the defile, prince Hilburghausen's body surgeon came by, who, knowing his lordship, examined



examined his wound a little on horseback, where he found CHAP. III. that the bullet had made its entry on the out-side of the left thigh, about three inches below the hip joint, or trochanter, having entirely broke the thigh bone, or os femur; the strong resistance whereof, as was perceived afterwards by so many pieces of lead that from time to time were taken out, flattened a part of the bullet, which, in breaking and forcing through this strong bone, had been cut off by the sharp points or edges of it; one of which, about the bigness of a straw, and half an inch long, having brought up with it a little bone, broke through the skin about an inch from the grand artery, near the os innominatum, which the surgeon took out; and, after applying a plaister to the wound, went off to look for his prince, who had sent for him before. But, as the surgeon happened, several times, to shake his head, when he was examining the wound; his lordship's servant followed him a few paces, and asked his opinion of it; which was, that his lordship would not live above three hours.

HIS lordship was then conducted a little farther up the defile; when the plaister was washed off by the great effusion of blood: but they accidentally found another surgeon, who put on a fresh plaister; and, seeing his lordship extremely weak through the great loss of blood, gave him a little brandy to cherish his drooping spirits.

HIS lordship endured inexpressible torment by the whole weight of his leg hanging only by the muscles; which was aggravated



BOOK aggravated by the motion of the horse, whereby the shattered  
III. bones, lodged up and down in the fleshy part of the thigh,  
grew so very painful, as to make his lordship intreat his servant to lay him down any where on the ground, and let him die in peace: but as they had not, all this time, made above four or five hundred paces from the seat of action; and being in a narrow defile where it was impossible to get out on either side; besides, the imperial troops coming constantly along; the servant persuaded his lordship, if possible, to have patience till they came to the least opening, where they might quit the road, and sit down; which his lordship endeavoured to do; but, as he repeated his former desire, his servant obeyed, and laid him down on the bank of the defile; when the officer's servant wanted to return to his master; but, through persuasion, stayed a little longer, and permitted a man to ride the horse his lordship had been on, to the camp, with an order for his lordship's sleeping waggon to come up immediately. In the mean time, Dr. Pratti, an Irish gentleman, and proto medicus of the army, came past; who knew his lordship, pitied his misfortune, cut open his boots and breeches, to examine the wound, and put fresh plaisters on it; giving his lordship good hopes of recovery; which proceeded more from friendship, than from his real sentiments. As a great many of the wounded came by his lordship, and gave information, that the imperialists were giving way; the doctor persuaded his lordship to get out of this hollow road, for fear of being trampled to death, if the forces were obliged to retreat: at which time, the prince of Waldeck's black running footman,



footman, with one of his hussars who was riding a Turkish horse he had made booty of, and leading his own, very fortunately came by, who readily offered their assistance to their master's favourite friend; upon which, the officer's servant was dismissed, and his lordship was re-mounted on horseback; his own servant, and the running footman, walking on each side of him, and the hussar rode before leading the horse; while Dr. Pratti went on to the field of battle.

THEY had scarcely advanced two hundred paces with his lordship, when some cavalry came up: his lordship's servant kept on the side of the horse next to them, and earnestly intreated they would not ride too near: but, having fresh orders to march up as fast as possible, they came rushing so violently by, as to push away the servant; and thrusting back his lordship's sound leg, they tumbled him off his horse, when he fell upon his belly to the ground: but as the troops had then the humanity to stop till his lordship was remounted again, he discovered a painful smiling countenance, as if it was at their barbarity in occasioning this fall, and also at the heap of misfortunes which surrounded him in one day; though he gave no utterance to the least angry word: but as the principal officers of both the infantry and cavalry past by, with most of whom, his lordship was acquainted, they would cry out, "my dear lord! I am heartily sorry for your misfortune:" to which he replied, with a brisk voice, "I thank you, and wish you better success."



## Book

## III.

To prevent the like misfortune again, the footman mounted behind his lordship, and held him in his arms about one hundred paces further, when they came to a rising ground, where they found a little opening to the right, and conducted his lordship out of the defile about twenty paces from the road, where they took him off his horse, and seated him in the lap of his own servant, who waited for the sleeping waggon, which the prince of Waldeck's servant was to order to that place.

IN this situation, his lordship continued only with his servant about an hour, when prince Waldeck's French cook rode by, who was desired by the servant to look out for his lordship's sleeping waggon, and order it immediately there. During this time, the wounded were carried off this way in great numbers; some of whom the servant asked how the day went, who gave him but a melancholy account of it; saying, that, their people were returning: but, in this terrible condition, his lordship still expressed the native bravery of his heart; for, observing one of the wounded soldiers smoking a pipe, as he was carried along, his lordship shewed a smile, and said, "I warrant him a brave fellow."

IT was now about ten o'clock, when they heard some scattered shot on their side, and the defile about the valley became filled up with imperialists; from which his lordship could judge no otherwise than that they were so far repulsed by



by the enemy; whereupon, seeing another scene of danger CHAP. likely to open, and no appearance of the sleeping waggon, III. his lordship gave his gold repeating watch, and his purse full of gold, to his servant; saying, "dear Kopp, take these, go, save your life, and let me die here in peace." Amazed at this similar courage and generosity, the servant replied, "No, my dear lord! I am resolved to share the hard fate of this day along with you." His lordship several times repeated his desire, which his faithful servant as nobly refused: the noble author of the elegy prefixed before this work, was frequently told by his lordship, of this uncommon fidelity in his servant, and he has beautifully represented it in the language of the elegiac muse; comparing it to the love and fondness of Nifus to Euryalus, or of Pylades to Orestes.

ABOUT eleven o'clock, the defile cleared up again; except that the train of wounded, frequently passed, and scattered troops returned to the field of battle: but the firing had been so near his lordship, that a Franciscan fryar belonging to one of the regiments, who stood nearer the road to officiate to such of the wounded as desired a priest, received a musket-shot through his body: his lordship, observing this, again desired his servant to fly, and save his life; but he still persisted in his resolution of continuing with his lordship, who, with a smiling countenance, turned his head about to look at him, and prest his hand, without saying any thing: for his gratitude was too strong for words; while the poor Franciscan expired with terrible groans about noon, when the sleeping waggon

N n 2

came



Book came up, together with his lordship's valet de chambre, a  
 III. groom on horseback with a led horse, besides the coachman  
 and postilion; who informed his lordship, that prince Wal-  
 deck's French cook had given them the first intelligence of  
 his disaster. They immediately endeavoured to get his lord-  
 ship into the sleeping waggon; which, notwithstanding all  
 the gentle means they used, gave him excessive pains; as his  
 blood, by this time, was growing a little cool: however, they  
 got him in, and his two principal servants seated themselves  
 on each side of him; in which manner they proceeded directly to  
 Belgrade; and, when they arrived within a league of the city, the  
 groom of the horse went on before, to acquaint the com-  
 mandant, general Suckoff, of his lordship's misfortune, and to  
 desire him to recommend the best surgeon and doctor, that  
 could be got; who readily procured all the assistance in his  
 power.

HIS lordship entered Belgrade about four in the afternoon;  
 but an hour expired without the appearance of either surgeon  
 or doctor: which occasioned his lordship's servants to send  
 and procure the first that could be met with: accordingly, the  
 landlord where they lodged brought a physician, who only  
 felt his lordship's pulse, looked a little on the wound, and  
 wrote a receipt for some things from the apothecary; after  
 which, he went in search of a surgeon: but at six o'clock,  
 Dr. Raffanet, and surgeon-major Mr. de Frene, who were  
 sent by general Suckoff, came to his lordship; who imme-  
 diately undertook the operation, by making an incision on the  
 outer



outer wound, where the bullet entered; which was done to CHAP.  
the very bone, and about five inches in length: after which, III.  
they examined the inside with their fingers, and found a mere  
quarry of bones, that the ball, in its way up towards the os  
innominatum, had left sticking up and down in the flesh, and  
betwixt the muscles; so that they could get out but very few,  
except those that lodged near the outside. After this, they  
fell to the incision on the inside, where prince Hilburghausen's  
body surgeon had taken out a little piece of lead, and a small  
bone in the field: this they made about two inches cross-ways;  
out of which they also got a few splinters: but his lordship,  
who had suffered with uncommon patience, to the astonish-  
ment of the operators, being so excessively weak, both with  
the great loss of blood in the field, and by these two opera-  
tions; they did not think proper to torment him any further  
at this time by tearing out more splinters; drawing only a  
little blood from him, to abate the force of the wound fever:  
but this operation, as well as all the others which his lordship  
suffered on the same occasion, are properly set forth in the  
appendix annexed to these memoirs.

PRINCE Waldeck, who was also wounded at Krotzka in his right  
hand, by a bullet, besides receiving two contusions, sent, the  
next day in the afternoon, Dr. Dampsh, and surgeon-major  
Mr. Lyon, to consult with the other two about his lordship's  
wound; when his lordship made them observe a little rising,  
or swelling, above the os innominatum; which they all judged  
to proceed from some interrupted spermatic vessels, esteeming it  
a matter



BOOK a matter of no consequence ; but his lordship replied, “ per-  
III. haps, you will have more to do there than you imagine :” as  
it afterwards happened ; for it proved to be the greatest part of  
the ball, which, by the strong resistance of the os femur, had  
lost its force ; and, being guided by the splinters, had lodged  
there.

ALL the nourishment his lordship received, was a little  
broth ; with some almond milk, or emulsion, to quench his  
thirst, together with frequent powders and medicines : and,  
on the 25th of July, he ordered his two principal domestics  
not to write to any person whatsoever, about his misfortune,  
till he was either out of danger, or dead. On the 26th, the  
sick and wounded were sent off by water to Peterwaradin and  
Futtach ; where several generals and other officers also repair-  
ed, among whom was prince Waldeck, whose brother died  
the day before at Belgrade, of the wound which he received  
in the lower part of his belly at Krotzka, when he led up  
the grenadiers. The prince visited his lordship in going to the  
water, and took his leave of him in the most compassionate,  
friendly, and affectionate manner ; assuring him, “ that,  
after the loss of his brother, he was more concerned for his  
lordship than for any person in this world ;” at the same time,  
this tender expression was accompanied with some friendly tears,  
which trickled down his cheeks as the best witnesses of his af-  
fection.

ON



ON the 28th, a splinter was extracted about an inch long, and half an inch broad; which gave room for the matter to discharge some smaller splinters. His lordship's wound furnished plenty of matter, attended with continual pain to the 29th of July; during which time several splinters were extracted: but the great heat, and close confinement upon his back, occasioned his greatest sufferings; which his servants endeavoured to assuage, by sometimes gently forcing their hands under him, and making a little hollow for the air to come through; and also by putting napkins frequently under him, for his refreshment.

ON the 30th, in the afternoon, a large bomb came over the house where his lordship lay, and fell into the garden; having first happily past through a barrel of vinegar that stood there, which occasioned it to enter deep into the ground, and die without breaking: and on the 1st of August, at night, another bomb fell within four feet of his lordship's window, and fell into the yard, which was unpaved; so that this bomb also sunk deep into the ground, and died without breaking.

THE next day, some small splinters were extracted; when the servants acquainted the physician and surgeon how near the bomb had fell; acquainting them likewise of the former, besides some cannon balls of fifteen and twenty pounds weight, which were now and then sent into the house: whereupon they thought proper to remove his lordship up to the castle, where



BOOK where two rooms, and a little kitchen on the ground floor, III. had been ordered three days before, by the commandant, for the reception of his lordship and his family, which then consisted only of seven persons; the rest being sent away with the equipage, three days before, to join that belonging to prince Waldeck at Peterwaradin. Therefore, about noon, being the time the enemy cannonaded least, they broke down the side wall of his lordship's room, as he could be removed no other way than in his bed; when he was carried by twelve soldiers up to the castle, where the doors proved large enough to receive him lying in bed: all which was executed without any accident; though not without great torment to his lordship; for the least unequal motion, or touch on the bedstead, gave him very sensible pain; and without meeting with both he could not be well carried.

By the 6th of August, his lordship was reduced to a mere skeleton; but hearing a soldier play on a violin, he ordered him to be called; when he desired the man to play a few marches, which he accordingly did; and which no less agreeably surprized the doctor and surgeon, when they heard it, than it did the servants when his lordship ordered the soldier to be called.

THE time growing tedious to his lordship, he desired his groom of the horse to read a little to him, who expressed his fears that it might hurt his lordship; since the quieter he was kept, the better it would be for his wound: but he replied, that  
reading



reading would not disturb him : whereupon the servant then CHAP.  
asked what book he should take out of the library; and, after III.  
he had considered a little, his lordship ordered him to take  
Quintus Curtius ; which he did, and accidentally began to  
read that part of the ninth book, where Alexander answers  
Craterus, Ptolomy, and the other generals, who solicited his  
return from India to Greece, by saying, “ the most cowardly  
souls, and the greatest lovers of ease, that place their only  
happiness in a long life, are frequently disappointed, and cut  
off, as well as others, by untimely and painful deaths : ” at  
which, his lordship seemed highly delighted, saying, “ it was  
very true.” His lordship gave great attention to what was  
read, for about an hour, when he obligingly bid his servant  
leave off ; desiring him to read to him every day an hour in  
the forenoon, and another in the afternoon ; but the surgeon  
advised him to the contrary, till he was in a better state of  
health.

ON the 22d, the pointed piece of the thigh bone was sawn  
off ; which was about an inch long ; but, having a split in the  
middle, came off in two pieces ; and the operation, being so  
violent, was succeeded by a fever ; which made his attendants  
apprehensive that it would occasion his death : but his lordship  
was supported through the whole, by the nobleness of his  
spirit and resolution..

ON the 29th, his lordship was free of his fever, and a  
splinter came out of the inside wound.



## BOOK

III. THE peace being concluded, his lordship received a visit, on the 4th of September, from the French ambassador's secretary, and two other French gentlemen dressed in Turkish habits, who served as interpreters: which visit was occasioned by colonel Brown, a Scotchman by birth, but in the Russian service, with whom his lordship contracted an intimate acquaintance while he was with the army commanded by count Munich. This colonel, having been taken prisoner by the Turks at the battle of Krotzka, was now under the protection of the French ambassador, who ordered him to be conducted to the earl of Craufurd; when their friendly meeting produced alternate joy and sorrow; for his lordship had long lamented the colonel, who he imagined had fell in the battle; and frequently saying to himself, "oh! my poor Brown:" the colonel was under deep concern to see his lordship in this deplorable condition; for he was so extremely weak, that the doctor and surgeon were of opinion, if another fever, or any accidental illness, should attack him, he would not be able to survive. But colonel Brown had the happiness to continue long enough at Belgrade to entertain the hopes of the recovery of his noble friend, whom he constantly visited till he set out on his return to Russia; when his lordship took this opportunity of sending a fine English mare as a present to count Munich, and as a memorial of the gratitude which his lordship entertained for the singular favours he had received from that illustrious commander.



THE situation wherein his lordship lay in his bed, since the pulley was put to his leg, as is usual in such cases, was as follows: he had a bandage, that came from the inside of his sound leg, all along up his breast and back, which was fastened to a nail screwed into the timber of his bedstead head: another bandage was put under his left arm, and also fastened to the bedstead as above: then a third went round his body, and was fixed to the side of his bed: and there was another about his wounded leg, from the knee down to the sole of his foot, whereon the pulley hung that was fastened to the foot of the bedstead: so that his lordship was, in a manner, chained in his bed; having only his head, arms, and right leg, free to move, for which he had scarcely a sufficiency of strength.

COLONEL Brown, on the 5th, visited his lordship again; when he brought along with him three French gentlemen that attended the ambassador, as also the ambassador's body surgeon, who was sent to examine his lordship's wound, and to give his opinion of it; which was, that he had little hopes of a recovery.

SOME Turkish bashaws, attended with a very grand retinue, also visited his lordship; and, by their interpreters, declared their concern for his misfortune; requesting it, as a very singular favour, to see in what manner his lordship's wound was dressed, which his lordship readily complied with; when the bashaws attended the operation with great astonishment at his

O. O. 2 lordship's



BOOK lordship's patience, and the neatness of the dressing: for they  
III. were surprized that a man could live so long after the nature  
of such a desperate wound; because, in the Turkish army, they are so much unacquainted with the chirurgical art, that their best surgeons are ignorant of the method of reducing fractures, particularly in the limbs, which they esteem incurable; and, therefore, only apply a simple dressing to the wound with some sort of balsam, leaving the rest to the strength of nature.

HIS lordship, on the 6th of September, notwithstanding his weak and dubious condition, seemed resolved to undertake a journey to Vienna by water; for which purpose, he sent a message to feldt-marshal Wallis, who had his head quarters at Semlin, to get his permission for Mr. de Frene, his lordship's surgeon, to attend him in this voyage up the Danube: but the marshal answered his lordship, that he was extremely sorry for his misfortune; and that it gave him much concern, that it was not in his power to let the surgeon go any further than Peterwaradin, without orders from the council at war at Vienna. This, with the advice of prince Waldeck, prince Hilburghausen, and some other generals, to remain at Belgrade, seemed to incline his lordship that way: however, he wrote to Mr. Robinson, the British envoy at Vienna, to ask leave of the council at war, for Mr. de Frene to attend him wherever he intended to go for his cure.



THE next day, general Pallavicini visited his lordship; and, hearing his resolution to go to Vienna by water, offered him a ship for that purpose. Mr. de Frene, having, for some days past, found a splinter attached to some tendon, cut it off on the 11th with his scissars; which was about the bigness of a cherry, and had several points.

ON the 12th, the grand vizir's son, attended by a numerous train of Turkish officers, came up to view the castle; when some bashaws with an interpreter, paid a visit to his lordship, and condoled with him on his misfortune; speaking of his lordship's apparel, by which they understood they had seen him in the field; expressing many high commendations on his courageous behaviour, which they had taken particular notice of at the battle, and were afterwards informed that it was his lordship.

ON the 24th, his lordship was allowed to eat a little bread and butter, with his tea or coffee in the morning; a little bit of boiled chicken, or veal, to his dinner; and a new laid egg, or some buttered apples, to his supper. He had obtained permission for Mr. de Frene to attend him, and admiral Pallavicini had prepared a vessel ready for the voyage, which had three partitions for rooms and kitchen; being double covered with boards, with which the sides were lined; and his lordship's room had a good chimney, or stove: so that after shipping the baggage, getting necessary provisions for the



Book the voyage, and procuring paffes, with an inventory of the  
III. villages and towns they were to pafs, which were infected, his  
lordship, on the 26th of September, was carried on board, to  
begin his voyage up the Danube; which is a thing of fo  
extraordinary a nature, and fo feldom undertaken, that, at  
the request of feveral illuftrious perfons, the journal thereof,  
written by the direction of his lordship, is inferted as follows.

A journal



A journal of the voyage undertaken by the earl of Craufurd up the Danube, from Belgrade to Vienna : wrote under the direction of his lordship.

THE Danube is one of the finest rivers in Europe, having its rise in the black forest, in the province of Suabia, in the south-west of Germany ; after which, it runs east through Bavaria and Austria : then entering Hungary on the west side, runs south-east from Presburgh to Buda, and so on to Belgrade : it afterwards divides Bulgaria from Walachia and Moldavia ; then runs through the province of Bessarabia, and discharges itself by several channels into the black sea : being so deep between Buda and Belgrade, that the Turks and Imperialists have frequently fleets of warlike ships upon it ; but the cataracts below, render it unnavigable to the black sea ; and there are also several cataracts above Buda, as well as several islands throughout the whole course of the river.

ON this river, the earl of Craufurd was now undertaking a voyage, as seldom made as the circum-navigation of the globe : he was to pass through the middle of Hungary, a country always very unhealthy, especially to foreigners ; which is thought chiefly to proceed from the sudden alteration of weather ;



BOOK weather; the days being excessive hot, and the nights in-  
III. tolerable cold in the summer: but, at this time, the country  
was infested with the plague.

HAVING embarked on the 26th of September, at noon; about two o'clock, they crossed the Saave in their way to enter the Danube; and, about three, they passed Semlin; the country, on both sides, being flat, with moderate banks, till they came here; though, after they past Semlin, they met with very high banks on the left: but the country continued flat on the other side, as before. They advanced this day about one Hungarian mile, and lay by at night near the village of Pansova, which was situate behind the banks out of their sight.

HIS lordship's family now consisted of his surgeon Mr. de Frene, attended by his wife, his mate, and a boy: three of his lordship's servants, with Mr. mac Carthy, a young gentleman of Irish or Scotch parents, who came to Belgrade, with recommendations to general Konigseck, to serve as a volunteer, but arriving the day after the battle of Krotzka, and being a stranger, was admitted on board: there was also a woman cook, and nine boatmen; besides, as the country they had to pass through afforded but few villages, where they could lie every night, and was infested with robbers, his lordship had a safe-guard granted him by marshal Wallis, consisting of a sergeant, two corporals, and seventeen private men, who, at the same time, assisted to draw up the vessel, as horses could be



be of no service in the journey on account of the trees, high banks, and the frequent crossings over the river. CHAP. III.

THE vessel was one, which had brought provision for the army; being about sixty feet long, and about twenty broad; with a flat bottom, pointed fore and aft: but as these vessels are scarcely ever brought up the Danube, on account of its rapidity, they are very slightly built, and the wood is sold for firing, or building. The outside of this vessel was only some planks nailed on small cross trees, and the little openings were stopt up with moss. The inside, on account of its having brought grain, was all lined with rough boards, covered with the same, and pointed like the roof of a house. It was separated into four divisions: the soldiers and boatmen were in the steerage: next to this, was his lordship's room, double lined with boards, which were covered with blue cloth; having a stove in it, and two little windows: the third part contained all his family: and the fourth, was made use of for a kitchen.

THEY set out early in the morning on the 27th; and, about eleven o'clock, passed a village called Bellages; lying too at night within three hours of Surdock: having advanced this day about two Hungarian miles: the country continuing to have excessive high banks to their left, and moderate ones to their right; which were lined all along with willows, and other kinds of small trees: the country behind being such a large flat, that they could not observe a mountain.

P p

THEY



## Book

## III.

THEY set out early in the morning on the 28th, and passed Surdock about eleven o'clock; having advanced this day about one Hungarian mile and half; the country looking the same as before. For these two days past, they observed several dead bodies lying here and there on the shore, as also many floating in the water; which was extremely shocking to see, as some of them were almost entirely putrified, others more or less so, and some quite fresh: but his lordship was informed they had been thrown over board from the transport ships that carried the sick and wounded from Belgrade to Peterwaradin and Vipalanka, at the commencement of the siege: he was also acquainted, that there was a great mortality among the crew on board the ships of war stationed on the river, whose dead corps were sent down in this unchristian manner. Such are the vicissitudes of war: for when the elector of Bavaria took Belgrade in 1688, the Danube was then covered with Mahometan bodies, as it was now with those of the Imperialists.

THEY proceeded on the 29th, about as far as the preceding day, and lay too a league distant from the village of Slankabeck: the dismal scene of human bodies and cattle, lying dead on the shore, continuing, and the country had also the same prospect.

ON the 30th, about noon, they came to Carlowitz, which lies about a league and a half from Peterwaradin by land; though it is reckoned four by water, on account of the great windings



windings of the Danube, whereby the boats, in going up, are obliged to cross the whole river, and come up on the other side. This afternoon, a great storm of wind and rain arose, which continued for five days, and obliged them to lie too near an island in the Danube; so that they only arrived at Peterwaradin on the 6th of October, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon: during which time, four splinters were extracted from his lordship's wound. On their arrival here, Mr. de Frene expressed his apprehension of bad weather, which might prove fatal to his lordship; and mentioned further, that if his lordship was still at Belgrade, he would be against undertaking this journey so late in the year; desiring his lordship to consent to winter at Peterwaradin: who, being resolved at all hazards to proceed on his journey, had his room, or cabin, lined entirely over with blue cloth; all the little holes, and openings, being stoppt with moss.

THESE things detained them till the 9th; in which time, they brought plenty of provisions of all kinds, and got a new command of a corporal and twelve men, as also a new crew of ten boatmen: having taken a Scotch volunteer on board, who had been taken ill at Peterwaradin. General Palavicini, who was encamped here with the regiment of Modena, came to visit his lordship; as did also his good friend general Linden, whose regiment of old Savoy dragoons passed through here to their winter quarters; when the weather proving fair, and every thing in order, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the vessel was drawn up above the boat-bridge across the Danube;



Book and, in the evening, they arrived at one of the imperial  
 III. magazines, about a league from the town. As it was apprehended that this place was infected with the plague they past a little above it, and lay by all night: keeping a close centinel that none of the ship's crew should enter the magazine: the country to this place, being flat pasture ground on the right; and on the left mountainous, covered with wood, and in some places planted with vines, with here and there some arable land.

ON the 10th, about five o'clock in the morning, they proceeded on their voyage; and, about nine, came to the village of Sherwitz; after which, they proceeded about one Hungarian mile, and lay too at night: the prospect of the country being the same as the day before; and they likewise saw several dead bodies floating in the water, and lying on shore.

ON the 11th, they passed on without seeing a village or house, till about seven in the evening; when they arrived at the village of Suffeck: having had hills all along to their left, covered with oak, elm, fir, and ash trees, upon which the wild grape was seen here and there to run up to the very top, making a pretty landscape with its reddish leaf.

ON the 12th, with fresh blowing weather, and now and then some showers, they also proceeded the whole day without seeing a house, till they came to Seheringred, about nine at night;



night; the prospect of the country continuing the same as the CHAP.  
day before: but they could get no provision in this village, III.  
where the continual marches of the troops had devoured every  
thing from the inhabitants.

ON the 13th, in the morning, they passed the village of Sottin; and, in the evening, came to Pockwaer, a sort of market town, where they bought some provision; and, on the 14th, pretty early, set out on their journey, passing the village of Dahl in the afternoon, and lying too at night about a league and half above it: the country continuing as before.

ON the 15th, they again travelled all the day without either seeing a village or house, till in the evening they came to the village of Drake: the country on each side continuing to have the same appearance as before. During all this time, his lordship amused himself in employing one of his servants, who had a genius that way, in drawing some plans, according to the sketches of his own observations: besides, his lordship took in an engineer at Peterwaradin; by which means, he had another person working in his room to divert him; while his lordship likewise amused himself in reading, and writing with a pencil.

ON the 16th, they proceeded to the village of Gowat; where the country to the left, began to be flat, as it had been all along to the right.

ON



## BOOK

## III.

ON the 17th and 18th, they travelled without seeing a village, passing between thick woods, remarkable for robbers; on which account, the guard was doubled at night, and all the arms on board lay ready in case of an attack.

ON the 19th, about noon, they arrived at a village called Appatin, where an imperial magazine had been erected to facilitate the march of the troops: but here they could get no other provision than beef and bread: after which, they advanced about a league and half further in the afternoon, and then lay too; the weather having been so favourable these three days, as to make their journey, even in this sort of desert, somewhat agreeable: when his lordship seeing the trees on the banks through his window, and observing some particular ones unknown in England, desired his servants to get out and look for some of the seed: at the same time, giving them a general order to get out frequently, and if they found trees of any kind that were unknown to them, to endeavour to get some of their seed.

ON the 20th, they set out about day-break, and about eleven o'clock came to the village of Monaster; where they looked out for some provision, but with little success; lying by at night within two leagues of the village of Battina: the country being the same as before.

ON



ON the 21st, about ten in the morning, they arrived at the village of Battina; where they purchased a few eggs, and some fowls; after which, they proceeded on their journey, and in the evening came to the village of Santua: the country on both sides continuing flat, and covered thick with woods; some hills at a distance being to be discovered on the left.

ON the 22d, setting out early, they advanced within four hours of the village of Baratsh, and furnished themselves with wood for firing; the country continuing the same as before.

ON the 23d, about noon, they came to the village of Baratsh, where, being a place for quarantine, the commissary and surgeon came on board, and visited all the people: after which, they subscribed their passes, and they proceeded on their journey.

ON the 24th, they advanced to the village of Bath; where there is a ferry over the Danube: the country on both sides being still woody, and some little hills towards the left. His lordship, of late, had enjoyed a tolerable state of health, with a pretty sharp appetite; Mr. de Frene having augmented his diet with proper aliments: so that his lordship got a little flesh and strength; but continued still fastened in his bed as mentioned before at Belgrade.

ON



## BOOK

## III.

ON the 25th, they came to the village of Seremi: the country still continuing woody on both sides, without any hills to the left.

ON the 26th, they advanced within two leagues of the market town of Baya: the country being flat and morassy; but the woods were not so thick, nor were there so many isles in the Danube.

ON the 27th, about eleven o'clock, they came opposite to Baya, which lies about an English mile from the Danube; where one of his lordship's servants went to get some provisions, who found ten or twelve houses, with plenty of poultry, geese, hogs, cats, and dogs, but could observe no other human body stirring about than an old grey headed man, who told him that the plague in a short time had devoured all the inhabitants of those houses, except a few who had abandoned the place at the beginning of this raging distemper; and that he had buried the most part of them himself. The same afternoon, they advanced a mile further: the country still continuing flat; and they generally travelled about two Hungarian miles a day.

ON the 28th, they came within a league and half of the village of Pax, where the plague was said to rage in a terrible degree.

ON



ON the 29th, in the morning, the steersman, and two of his crew were missing; who had privately got to Pax, where their families lived: however, his lordship proceeded a little way above that village in the evening; ordering the ship off shore to ride at anchor, and the centinels to be posted in the small boat, to prevent any person from going a-shore. They had scarce lain four or five hours at anchor, when they were all alarmed by a great deal of water which the vessel had leaked; and which every moment increased: immediately all hands were at work; some in throwing out the water; others in searching from whence it came, which was very difficult to find out, on account of the vessel's being lined all over the inside with boards, and the beds and baggage being placed at its sides. They broke several boards in the room where the surgeon and the servants lay, but to no purpose: at last, they heard a little noise in his lordship's cabin, as of water coming in; when, upon moving the cloth, and breaking down a board, they found an opening, where the moss had come out, about the length of three or four feet; which was occasioned by the anchor having drawn the ship a little to one side; for when the ship lay straight, the same opening came above water: and, as they were not certain but some other openings might be in her, they weighed anchor, and brought the vessel near the shore; when, with all their hands at work, they soon cleared her of all the water she had taken in, and posted a double guard all the night: whereby they overcame this accident, which must have otherwise been fatal.



BOOK to his lordship, whom it was impossible to have moved  
III. without his bed.

ON the 30th, they made about three leagues: the prospect of the country to the left being full of hills, some green with herbage, and others covered with woods; but the right continued flat as before.

ON the 31st, they came within a league and half of the market-place of Foldawar; where, the year before, the head commissary of health had his office, and examined all those that came up in their way to Austria: but the place was now greatly infected with the plague.

ON the 1st of November, about three in the afternoon, they arrived at Foldawar; and the next night, came to the village of Pentele: where the country was no more woody; having all this day pretty high sandy banks to their left, which were but low on their right.

ON the 3d, they set out early in the morning, but the wind blew so hard, that it was with great difficulty they came over against prince Eugene's isle, which lies about an English mile from Ratz-Almas, and a league from Pentele. At this place, an Hungarian nobleman, whose name was Michael Kambofy, very kindly assisted his lordship's servants in procuring provisions; and, after hearing of his lordship's wound, requested the favour of being introduced to him; saying, "he shared



shared in the sufferings of a noble martial soul:" accordingly, CHAP.  
he visited his lordship, who was well pleased with his com- III.  
pany; and, after some conversation, the Hungarian departed  
with the greatest satisfaction.

ON the 4th, they arrived at the village of Adom; which  
lies but one league from Pentele; where a splinter came out  
of the outside wound.

ON the 5th, about three in the afternoon, they came to  
Promontori, a country house built by prince Eugene; who, for  
his good services, had a district of land given him by the  
emperor, after the conquest of Belgrade: but the weather  
was now turned to a hard frost, and small ice began to appear  
on the Danube.

ON the 7th, they set out very early in the morning, and  
about ten, arrived at the town of Pest, though with much  
difficulty; the Danube being full of very large ice, which  
obliged them to lie by here till the weather grew milder: but  
this did not happen till the 14th; during which time, his  
lordship continued on board, in hopes of a little favourable  
weather, to proceed to Comorra; though Mr. de Frene used  
his utmost endeavours to persuade him to hire a house, and  
take his residence there for the winter: but his lordship had  
still the same resolution of proceeding to Comorra, where he  
knew he should be happy in the company of prince Hilburg-  
hausen. The town of Pest lies on a flat, having pretty good  
houses,



BOOK houses, and commodious streets; where there was one of the  
III. largest and finest hospitals belonging to his imperial majesty.  
Opposite to this place, on the other side the Danube, lies Buda, situated on a high hill, which, however, at some distance, is over-looked by other hills whereon their famous vines are planted: a little from the town, near the water-side, lies the water-town and Razan-Stadt, which are built like villages, and are said to have some good baths in them. During their stay here, the marquis of Matha came on board to visit his lordship; who, as soon as the weather grew milder, and the ice began to dissolve, determined to set out on his journey; having obtained a good store of provision, and a good quantity of wine, for which this place and its environs are famous.

ON the 14th, they set out about eight in the morning; having two of the boatmen constantly employed at the ship's head, to push off the floating ice; though, they had got the ship lined, or sheathed, with large thick boards on the outside, to prevent the ice cutting through. The country on the Buda side was hilly, most part of it being planted with vines, and adorned with summer houses: but the Pest side continued flat and manured.

ON the 15th, about ten in the morning, they arrived at the market town of Watson; where they got their fanitas, or Pass of health, signed again, as also a new crew of boatmen. This evening, his lordship perceived his favourite servant, who had



had conducted him off the field of battle, writing a letter; CHAP. III.  
which occasioned him to enquire for whom it was intended; ~  
when the servant told him it was to the duke of Hamilton,  
who, before their departure from England, insisted that he  
should constantly send him a relation of whatever happened  
to his lordship, to whom his grace had lent this servant on  
account of his fidelity, and his knowledge of the German  
countries: whereupon, his lordship desired his compliments  
to the duke; as also to captain Steuart, who generally lived  
with his grace, and had served under the duke of Marlborough  
in Flanders, where he received a wound in one of his legs,  
which made it shorter than the other, and occasioned his  
lordship to order the servant to inform him, that he was now  
in the same condition as the captain was formerly, and that  
at their next meeting they must dance a minuet together.

ON the 16th, they set out about eight in the morning;  
and about one o'clock, came to the village of Terwitza,  
which lies on the Pest side: but they proceeded on, and, in  
the evening, landed an English mile below Wisegrade: the  
country at some distance from the shore being hilly on both  
sides, some of which were covered with woods, others  
planted with vines.

ON the 17th, about nine in the morning, they came op-  
posite to the old castle at Wisegrade, which lies on the highest  
commanding hill thereabouts; its wall, on which are several  
turrets, running all along down the hill to the water side.  
A little



BOOK

III. A little higher up on a flat, lie two villages, called Groß and Klein Marosh; both which were infected with the plague; and this evening, they landed within one Hungarian mile of the old fort of Gran: the country having the same prospect as before.

ON the 18th, they set out as usual, and about four in the afternoon came near Gran; but, as this place was infected, they immediately crossed the Danube, and landed at Barakhan, a village lying almost opposite to fort Gran. Their provision, by this time, growing scarce, two of the servants got a-shore to see what was to be had in the village, which lay about four or five hundred paces from the river: but they had not advanced above one hundred paces, when some peasants appeared with fire arms, bidding them stand off, and retire to the ship; for that no strangers were allowed to enter the village. Whereupon, the servants told them their errand, and desired their assistance; which was readily granted; but the servants were not permitted to approach nearer than at the distance of eighty paces, or more. The commissary, who was the commanding officer of the trained bands, then sent some of them into the village to fetch what provision they could get; and when they brought it out, they told the servants how much money it came to, desiring them to put it in a little earthen pot filled with vinegar and water, which they had set on the ground at some distance from the servants; who, when this was done, retired to their former post: upon which, they came up, and poured the money out of this pot

into



into another; then laid down the provision, and went off; CHAP. when the servants took it away: these being the ceremonies III. used in the unhappy times and places where the plague rages. The peasants informed the servants that prince Hilburghausen was keeping his quarantine at Almas, about three Hungarian miles higher up the river; which destroyed his lordship's hopes of holding his quarantine at Comorra; since the prince, who was commandant of that fortress, was not admitted without a previous quarantine.

ON the 19th, they advanced but one Hungarian mile; on account of a strong north-west wind: the country was not so hilly as the day before; which gave them the prospect of its turning flat, as they advanced higher up.

ON the 20th, with the same weather as before, they set out in the morning, and about ten passed the village of Neufdorff; which, by their list, was the last infected place in their way; and they came this day within a short mile of Almas, the country being flat; but some mountains began to appear at a distance; as also here and there a steeple.

ON the 21st, about ten in the morning, they came to Almas; when his lordship sent his compliments to prince Hilburghausen, who rejoiced to hear that he was so near, and immediately sent baron Bibrock to acquaint his lordship that he was dressing to come and see him; as also, that if his cabin was large enough, he intended to dine there. Their meeting



BOOK meeting was full of the noblest sentiments of friendship and  
III. affection: the prince expressed all imaginable concern for his  
lordship's misfortune; informed him that he had waited near  
three weeks at Almas, to obtain a pass from Vienna for his  
admission into Comorra to hold his quarantine; which pass,  
he had only received the day before: but his highness promised to  
use all his endeavours to get a pass for his lordship to come thither.  
As he lodged at an inn, which was the only tolerable one in  
the village; he therefore resolved to set out the next day, to  
give his lordship an opportunity of getting his lodgings: but,  
the cabin being too small for the prince and his attendants to  
dine in, his highness returned on shore to dinner, and sent  
several things from his table which were proper for his lord-  
ship to eat.

ON the 22d, in the morning, the prince came once more  
to take leave of his lordship, and then set out on his journey  
for Comorra.

ON the 23d, his lordship sent an express with all the passes  
to prince Hilburghausen, who was to send them to the grand  
commiffary of the council of health, then residing at Raab:  
to whom his lordship represented, that he, and his attendants,  
had all along from Belgrade continued always on board the  
ship; never having any communication with infected places:  
by which means, his lordship hoped to be admitted directly  
into Comorra, without holding a three weeks quarantine at  
Almas. Upon which account, his lordship was resolved to  
continue



continue on board till he had an answer from the commissary: CHAP. though the frost was so hard that the Danube run full of ice; III. and the wind was excessive cold and piercing.

ON the 24th, in the afternoon, a lieutenant, who had been sent to Almas with the commando from Comorra, and attended prince Hilburghausen during his stay there, came to see his lordship, and told him he had received a letter from the vice-commandant, with orders to return with his commando; at the same time, desiring him to present his compliments to his lordship, and inform him he had sent an express to Raab, with a letter and the passes to the grand commissary; and that, as soon as an answer came to his hands, he would communicate it to his lordship: he also offered this commando to be at his service during his stay; but his lordship desired they might return to their garrison.

ON the 25th, the weather continued frosty, and no news arriving of being admitted into Comorra, which lay but a mile and half higher up; his lordship was desirous of being carried on shore this afternoon; when count Schulemburg, commissary general of the imperial army, arrived at Almas, in his way for Vienna, and came on board to pay a visit to his lordship; who found the count was inclined to stay there all night: upon which, his lordship offered him his lodgings, and the count at last accepted of them.



## BOOK

## III.

ON the 26th, his lordship continued on board, in hopes of receiving a pass into Comorra; but, in the morning of the 27th, a hussar arrived with letters from prince Hilburghausen, informing his lordship, "that he could not be admitted into Comorra, without a three weeks quarantine at Almas:" upon which, his lordship, in the afternoon, was carried a-shore in his bed, in the same manner as he came a-board.

ON the 28th, Mr. Lyon, surgeon-major, who attended his lordship at Belgrade, arrived at Almas, with his nephew the surgeon of Bathiani's regiment of dragoons: who both waited on his lordship, and were present at the dressing of his wounds: when Mr. Lyon, observing that the swelling was mostly below the outside wound and its orifice, thought it might proceed from the matter having forced a channel downwards; and, therefore, judged it necessary to enlarge the orifice further down, that the matter might have free passage, and also the splinters which might occasion the swelling. His lordship desired them to consult about it, and proceed accordingly: but Mr. de Frene likewise shewed Mr. Lyon the mistake that both they, and the doctors at Belgrade, were under about the little swelling above the os innominatum, which his lordship at that time bid them take notice of, being thought by them all to proceed from the stoppage of some spermatick vessels, by the different motions his lordship was obliged to make after the fatal shot, when his leg hung only on the sinews and tendons: by this time it was sunk near the scrotum,



scrotum, and they could plainly feel it was a strange corp; CHAP. however, they were not certain whether it was a piece of III. bone, or ball; neither would they undertake the operation of taking it out, without a general consultation, and the attendance of a doctor: but as to enlarging the orifice of the outside wound, they came to a conclusion to execute it the next morning.

ACCORDINGLY, on the 29th, Mr. de Frene enlarged the outside wound, about an inch and half long: after which, they sounded the inside wound; but found no channel to carry the matter downwards: though they felt some splinters at too great a distance to be taken out.

ON the 30th, a splinter came out with the matter from the outside wound where the incision had been made: after which, Mr. Lyon continued his journey to Mannersdorff, where he was to hold his quarantine before he could be admitted into Vienna.

NOTHING material happened till the 3d of December, when, at the dressing of the wounds in the evening, there came again two splinters from the outside wound, without creating much torment according to his lordship's saying; who by this time, through his constant sufferings, seemed to be so well acquainted with pain, that little ones came not into his consideration.



## BOOK

## III.

ON the 4th, an accident happened which had like to have proved fatal to three of his lordship's family, who had been warming themselves over a charcoal fire in an iron pan, after which, they laid themselves down to sleep; where they were found almost suffocated, without any appearance of life: but, by opening the doors and windows, they gradually came again to themselves.

HIS lordship having heard the hurry in the house upon this occasion, insisted upon knowing what was the matter: when Mr. de Frene acquainted him; to which his lordship replied, "it is well that the raging plague has not broke in upon my family, and compleated my misfortunes." A captain, who commanded the troops quartered in the village, and who with other officers quartered up and down, came every day to visit his lordship, was more startled at hearing what had past; which proceeded from a strict order he had received to pluck up every house, without any distinction of persons or families, wherein two or three people should suddenly die: he said the thoughts of executing such an order, in prejudice to his lordship, for whom he had such a veneration, was shocking to him, and that executing it, would have been worse than death. On this occasion, his lordship said, "that he thanked god it was no worse, for that his people had enough to do to get provision for the family by going and sending many English miles round about: therefore, in what a dismal situation must



must they have been, if deprived of a free communication CHAP.  
with the inhabitants of the village, and the adjacent places ?” III.

ALTHOUGH his lordship's quarantine was out on the 14th of December, he could not, on account of the great quantity of ice in the Danube, immediately proceed to Comorra ; but, on the 21st, the weather came to be somewhat mild, and continuing so for some days, loosened the ice in such a manner, that the ship, without great danger, could be drawn up to Comorra : whereupon his lordship, on the 27th, was carried in the boat, and about noon arrived at Comorra, where he was conducted to his lodgings the same evening.

HIS lordship was frequently visited by the vice commandant, general Baronai, the nobility of the place, and the officers that were quartered there. He begun already to contrive a compendious kitchen, and field equipage ; employing proper tradesmen about it, which he compleated during his continuance at Comorra, in so commodious a manner, that two middle sized trunks held the whole furniture. The one containing the kitchen utensils to dress a dinner of twelve and more dishes ; the other containing the necessaries to cover a table for eighteen persons ; also a complete tea equipage, glasses, and large bottles for wine : the two trunks with the furniture within, being a moderate load for a mule or pack horse to carry.

NOTHING



## BOOK

## III.

NOTHING material else happened, but that Mr. de Frene observed from time to time that the swelling near the groin sunk lower and lower; and, on the 10th of February, at the usual dressing of the wound, he found a hard substance had fallen into the scrotum; which he judged was the greatest part of the ball, but would not undertake the operation to extract it, except in the presence of doctor Damposh, and surgeon Lyon: whereupon his lordship wrote a letter to Mr. Robinson at Vienna, to send them down; and accordingly they arrived at Comorra on the 20th, when they held a consultation with Mr. de Frene; in consequence whereof they first made the operation on the side of the scrotum, which was done with good success, and no less bravery of the patient; whereby they took out the greatest part of the ball, which was about the bigness of a cherry: they then fell to making an incision on the inside of the thigh, about an inch or more below the os innominatum, where the matter had made a cavity, and by which they expected to make a correspondence with the channel of the outer wound: but, that they might execute this with more certainty, they put a proper instrument into the outside wound, gently pushing it along till they could feel the end of it through the skin on the inside of the thigh; after which, they regulated their incision, which was not a little dangerous on account of the great artery and its large branches; wherefore, Mr. de Frene, who performed all the operations, made one little cut after another, till he came upon the point of the instrument, which he pushed through; and



and then, with gentle cuts, enlarged the incision upwards, CHAP. towards the os innominatum: but after he had enlarged it III. about an inch, he told the doctor and Mr. Lyon that he would not venture any further; to which they both replied, "he had nothing to fear, and should only proceed with little cuts:" though the other said, "perhaps, they would soon be of another opinion;" and, upon the second cut, there sprung a fountain of blood from a branch of the artery: so that they were obliged to finish this day's cruel though necessary work, by stopping the branch of the great artery, which was thus undesignedly cut.

ON the 21st, they forbore the incision; which, on the 22d, they compleated below the os innominatum.

ON the 23d, Dr. Dampsh and Mr. Lyon declared, that there was nothing more left for them to do; but that nature must do her part towards a perfect cure: after which, they departed for Mannersdorff; but the wound grew so bad that Mr. de Frene, on the 1st of March, thought proper to desire an express might be sent to Mannersdorff for Dr. Dampsh and Mr. Lyon, who returned to his lordship on the 3d; who were pleased to find him in no high fever, but very sorry to see him so weak and exhausted. Mr. de Frene gave them an account of all that had happened since their departure, as also of what medicines he had given: he likewise informed them of the outward applications; and, at the same time, gave it as his opinion, that the fever and erysipelas were occasioned by



BOOK by some one or more splinters, which had detached themselves, and were in the way to come out: but they were of a different opinion; saying, "it was produced from the cicatrice which begun to putrify." However, the doctor privately declared his opinion to his lordship's favourite domestic, that he was in as dangerous a condition as ever; and mostly on account of his extreme weakness of body; adding, if his outside wound and scarrifications did not soon produce matter, the hopes of his recovery would be very small: for the present situation of his lordship was indeed exceeding terrible, his countenance having nothing but the appearance of death. However, he was so much better on the 5th, as to tell his servant, with a brisk countenance, that he would overcome all; at the same time informing him of a dream which he had the night before; from whence he seemed to predict that he should overcome the difficulties and pains he laboured under.

THE next day, another incision was made with a large lancet, about five or six inches, and an inch deep; when a good deal of matter ensued; and his lordship was put to such excessive torture, that the doctor was afraid he would not have strength enough to undergo another effectual incision; declaring, "that his lordship was in a most dangerous condition:" though on the 6th, his lordship had so much more ease than usual, that he fell to his ordinary amusement of reading, writing, and contriving his field equipage; in which he past his suffering days, with an apparent pleasure.

ON



ON the 8th, Mr. Lyon the surgeon wrote a whole relation of his lordship's wound from its beginning to this date; which was sent to Mr. Dibon, an eminent surgeon in Paris, for his advice.

ON the 9th, his lordship was so much better, that the doctor and surgeons were all as much surpris'd to hear him complain so little, as they had been all along to see his heroic behaviour under the operations; besides the close confinement on his back, since the day he was wounded: but, on the 10th, they again returned to Mannersdorff.

ON the 11th, a splinter was extracted, about the bigness of a French bean: which Mr. de Frene judged to be of the os innominatum; and that this was the cause of his lordship's last fever. This day, the weather, after a long frost, began to change to a slow thaw, without any rain: his lordship continuing in a better state of health till the 19th, when two splinters were discovered, which gave a renewal to his pains, and threw him into a sort of an ague, attended with a fever. He continued in this condition till the 23d, when two splinters were extracted from the outside wound, about the bigness of barley grains: after which, his lordship grew better.

ON the 26th, the ice in the Danube began to move in so forcible a manner, as to stop the natural course of the river, and make it take to the left over the flat grounds; whereby,

S f

that



BOOK that side of the country looked like a sea of two or three  
III. leagues in extent.

His lordship was afterwards afflicted with a little splinter, which, on the 14th of April, made its appearance a-cross the orifice of the upper wound, which had of late given very bad matter: upon this, Mr. de Frene injected some balm, which brought the point of the splinter to the mouth of the orifice, and gave him an opportunity of extracting it, which was about half an inch long, and about the thickness of a writing pen.

PRINCE SAX Hilburghausen, commandant of this place, arrived here on the 16th, and visited his lordship; staying to see his wounds dressed, and satisfying his curiosity in examining his lordship's new contrived equipages for the field.

ON the 17th, a little splinter was extracted out of the outside wound, about the bigness of a barley corn; and the same afternoon prince Hilburghausen spent several hours with his lordship, as he generally did till the 23d, when his highness intended to depart for Vienna; but he continued so long in taking leave of his lordship, that he thought proper to delay his journey till the next morning. The weather, which had been hitherto cold and windy, having become more temperate, his lordship also intended to have set out for Vienna, but expecting some letters from thence, he put it off till the 27th; when, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he was carried in  
his



his bed down to the ship, which lay then in the Danube; CHAP. and, although the wind blew very hard, his lordship ordered III. that the ship should fall down to the point of the fortress, in its way to enter the river Waag, which rout the ships generally take in going up to Presburg.

ON the 28th, they set out early in the morning on their journey, and past Comorra; the wind being high and contrary: after advancing about half a league, they left the Waag, and entered the small arm of the Danube which runs up to Presburg, where it divides itself. About one Hungarian mile from Comorra, they passed a little village to the left, called Wiseward, where are the ruins of an old castle yet remaining with a rampart of earth. They came this day about two Hungarian miles, and lay by in the night a little below a village called Gutta: the country thus far being flat; the banks low on both sides to the left and well cultivated, but on the right somewhat marshy.

ON the 29th, about seven in the morning, they passed Gutta, which contains about three hundred houses, lying close upon the Danube; where they observed a stork's nest upon almost every house; and upon enquiring the reason of such numbers being there, they were told it was occasioned by an extensive marsh on the other side of the Danube opposite to the village. About noon, they came within half an English mile of the village of Narrish, where the district of Comorra ended, and the Presburger began. In the afternoon, they proceeded two



BOOK Hungarian miles further, and then lay too; the country being  
 III. flat on both sides, and mostly pasture ground, though here and  
 there intermixt with small woods and fruit trees.

ON the 30th, they passed the village of Riperes, where  
 was a ferry over a branch of the Danube; in which neigh-  
 bourhood, was a country seat belonging to count Esterhazy:  
 the country being the same as before, except that they had  
 now a full prospect of the high mountains which lie behind  
 Presburg. They afterwards advanced about a league and an  
 half in a direct line; having many turnings of the river, and  
 some of its arms to cross.

ON the 1st of May, they advanced only one Hungarian  
 mile and half; the country being the same as before.

ON the 2d, after passing several villages, and a kind of  
 an ancient country house, called Iberhard, belonging to a  
 person of quality at Presburg, they came within two leagues  
 of that city: the country to the left being flat, with a mo-  
 derate bank on the river side, behind which, they could  
 discern all sorts of fruit trees; and on the right, were several  
 isles full of trees, especially willows.

ON the 3d, about ten in the morning, they came over  
 against a village called Overufer; where they were detained  
 by a contrary wind, and a great storm; though within two  
 hours sail of Presburg; where they arrived about ten the next  
 morning,



morning, and provided themselves with all sorts of provisions CHAP.  
to serve 'till they reached Vienna. III.

ON the 5th, about five in the morning, they crossed the Danube, and proceeded on their journey; the hills on the right being covered with vines and trees; but the country was flat to the left. They arrived at Woelfftall, on the frontiers of Austria, about ten o'clock; where they were obliged to get their passes signed by a commissary, who had a little hut built near the water-side; because Woelfftall lies about an English mile from the river. This part of the country belongs to the family of Palfi, where the hills were covered with trees of fir, ash, and oak, with a great many willows near the water. About five in the afternoon, they left Bolim on the right, where there was an old castle situated upon a high rock, having a wall with turrets running quite down to the water-side: from whence there is a prospect of Schlossoff, a palace built by prince Eugene, which now belongs to prince Hilburghausen, who married his niece. An English mile above Bolim, they crossed the Danube again, and landed opposite to Hainburg, of which they had a fine prospect betwixt two islands, the town being situated on a rising ground close by the river side.

ON the 6th, they set out early as usual, and the country began again to appear flat on both sides; being covered with large woods of oak, ash, poplar, and willow, besides under-wood. About nine, they passed a noble country seat on the left,



BOOK left, belonging to count Traun: after which, they passed the  
 III. village of Hasselaw on the right; and, in the evening, came  
 over-against Fischet, a village about four English miles from  
 Vienna by land.

ON the 7th, after proceeding a little way in the morning, they crossed the Danube for the last time. About eight, they passed Mannersdorff, and then entered a little arm of the Danube; perceiving, as they approached Vienna, many villages and country houses to the left; but the country was flat and woody to the right, and plentifully stored with deer. About six in the afternoon they arrived at Vienna, where his lordship was immediatly waited upon by his friend Mr. Robinson, the British minister, who had prepared his best apartments for the reception of his lordship; where, about eight o'clock, he was carried in his bed by twelve chairmen, attended by doctor Damposh and Mr. Lyon, who were pleased to find the wounds in so good a condition as they had been ever since his lordship departed from Comorra.

ON the 10th, a grand consultation was held in his lordship's room, in presence of Mr. Robinson; consisting of Dr. Bafan, physician in ordinary to his highness the grand duke of Tuscany; Dr. Pratti, an Irish gentleman, and first physician to the army; Dr. Damposh; Mr. Fumier, surgeon to the empress Amelia; Mr. Lyon, surgeon-major; and his nephew, of the same name, surgeon of Bathiani's regiment; besides Mr. de Frene, who gave them a relation of the wound from  
 the



the beginning till this time; when they all declared that every thing had been properly executed, and that now the cough, fever, and weakness of body, were the principal things to be observed: for which purpose, Dr. Basan ordered a tea-cup-full of barley milk to be taken every hour by his lordship, who was also to take a spoonful of an electuary every morning and evening: as for the wounded leg, he ordered it should every now and then be laid in different postures, whereby there would be more freedom for the circulation of the blood, as also for the separation and extraction of any remaining splinters.

THEY continued dressing the wounds as usual till the 14th, when they turned his lordship a little on one side, to help the circulation of the blood; and Dr. Basan desired they would sometimes raise his body by degrees.

ON the 27th, a splinter was observed within the orifice of the outside wound, which was extracted; being an inch long, and half as broad.

ON the 28th, another splinter was extracted out of the same wound, about the bigness of a pea: but his lordship continued in a good way; receiving constant visits every day since his arrival, from most of the nobility.

ON the 4th of June, a splinter was discovered in the upper wound, which gave his lordship extreme pain till the 17th; when



BOOK when it was extracted, and appeared to be about the size of  
III. a large barley grain. The same day, another splinter was  
extracted from the outside wound, which was about the bigness  
of a middle-sized French bean: after sounding the wound,  
Mr. de Frene found some more splinters in it; and, by pressing  
out the matter, there appeared another about the bigness  
of a barley grain, which was also extracted: when Mr. de  
Frene put his finger into the orifice, and felt a cavity large  
enough to contain an egg, which he called the lodge of these  
splinters.

ON the 23d, two more splinters were extracted: however,  
his lordship began to recover a little strength; having been  
now and then lifted up with cushions to sit in the bed; and  
there were also cushions laid frequently under his knee, to  
put his leg in different positions.

ON the 28th, his lordship was, for the first time, lifted out  
of his bed, to stand on his feet: but he was scarce above a  
minute or two, when his colour turned so languid, that he  
was obliged to be carried immediately to bed again; where,  
after he had rested himself a little, he complained that his  
head grew giddy; which was no wonder, by being thus  
moved after near eleven months long confinement in his bed,  
and that always on his back. But on the two following days,  
he was set upon his legs again, and remained about five or  
six minutes each time, without pain or faintness.

ON



ON the 2d of July, his lordship was again lifted out of bed, and, for the first time, set in a canopy chair; where he remained from eleven till three in the afternoon: and on the 4th, he was kept for a few minutes in a standing posture.

ON the 5th, a splinter was extracted from the upper wound, about the bigness of a barley grain; which looked quite white, and was supposed to be of the os pubes.

ON the 8th, his lordship was put in a machine, like those made for children when they learn to walk; having four wheels, and a little seat, with a foot board for his short wounded leg: in which he continued about half an hour, and afterwards made use of it frequently; being hurled about from one room to another.

ON the 13th, a splinter was extracted out of the upper wound, about the bigness of a barley grain; and another appeared at the orifice of the outer wound, which Mr. de Frene took out, being somewhat larger than the other; and he also brought out another, about the bigness of a large cherry-stone; as he also did a little one out of the upper wound on the 15th.

ON the 17th, a splinter was extracted from the outside wound; which proved to be a piece of the os pubes, where it had been sawn off at Belgrade, about the bigness of a

T t

moderate



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T t

moderate



BOOK moderate strawberry, pointed like the root of a tooth at one  
III. end, and sawed at the other.

His lordship continued in a tolerable condition till the 25th, when another splinter was extracted from the outside wound, about the bigness of a barley corn. After which, his lordship, for the first time, was put into an artificial bath in a tub, set close by the bed side: the bath consisting of Danube water made warm, with a bottle containing about twelve quarts of a mineral composition: which he frequently repeated, and continued pretty well till the 28th, when the upper wound discharged a great quantity of thick matter, which Dr. Bafan apprehended to be the pieces of the shirt and breeches that had been drove in by the ball.

As the Turkish ambassador was encamped about a league from Vienna, near a place called Swigget, to hold quarantine before he could make his entry; his lordship sent his principal domestic there, to give him an account of the retinue. The ambassador had the aspect of a haughty old man, with a long grey beard, and in reality was said to answer his looks; to which, certainly their late success in war had not given a little addition. His tent was very large and magnificent, of a pale green colour, finely wrought within; and the wall surrounding it was very wide, adorned with red Turkish linen. There were six other large green tents; but the rest were old, and some of them ragged; as were also many of his attendants cloaths, who formed his retinue, which was reported to consist



consist of about twelve hundred people, with about two hundred camels, and as many mules and horses. CHAP. III.

HIS lordship continued to use the bath, and was so much visited by people of rank, that his apartments every day, from eleven to one, were like a drawing-room; being filled with such a number of great personages, that it would take a large catalogue to name all the princes, nobility, and general officers, who visited his lordship almost daily.

COUNT Taaf, an Irish gentleman, and a general in the imperial service, who constantly visited his lordship; had, for some days past, informed him that the empress, in great concern, made much enquiry about his lordship's welfare; and desired the count to recommend a wound plaister she had of her own making: which favour his lordship accepted; and, on the 2d of August, count Taaf brought two pieces of it; which, with the approbation of Dr. Bafan and Mr. de Frene, were applied to the wounds instead of the usual plaister.

ON account of the Turkish ambassador's entry, which was to be made on the 4th, some companies of the burghers were to pass through the street where his lordship was, to attend the grand chamberlain; which occasioned his lordship, about eight in the morning, to be drawn in his machine to the window to see this part of the procession. The first that past were the gentlemen Hoffgefrieders, all dressed in rich laced apparel,



Book apparel, riding on fine horses, adorned with rich furniture;  
III. with kettle drums beating and trumpets sounding before them.

Then followed a company of about two hundred burghers, well dressed, attended by drums, hautboys, and French horns. About an hour after, they came back, conducting the grand chamberlain, attended with several of the nobility on horse-back, preceded by the emperor's kettle drum, and twelve trumpets; which were followed by twelve led horses, with rich furniture. After this scene was over, his lordship ordered his two principal domestics to ride out, and give him an account of the ceremony used on this occasion of receiving the first Turkish ambassador after a war; which was to be performed about an English mile from Vienna, where were two large tents pitched, the one green and the other white. About two hundred paces from these tents, were formed the following troops of horse: first, the majestacy, dressed all in black velvet, and brocade waistcoats, plain hats with white feathers; mounted exceeding fine, and rich: then the wholesale merchants, all in laced or embroidered cloaths, but of different colours; laced hats and feathers; and richly mounted: afterwards the above-mentioned company of Hoffgesfreiders, which are those who are not actually burghers, but drive on their trade by a licence from the court: last of all, followed a company of cuirassiers, and another of dragoons, composed of lusty brewers, butchers, and inn-keepers: the rest of the burghers being under arms in the city to receive the ambassador there. About eleven o'clock, the Turkish ambassador came within half an English mile of the appointed place of meeting,



meeting, in a kind of ordinary low coach, according to their own fashion, attended by his numerous train; where he halted, and waited for his interpreter, whom he had sent with a message to the grand chamberlain. His retinue, all on horseback, marched up as follows: an officer, with a black commanding staff, and a silver chain hanging to it, rode first: then another followed with a yellow flag, marked with Turkish letters: who were succeeded by a good number, posted two or three in a rank, keeping a good distance from each other: then came another officer, followed by the led horses, which were adorned with rich furniture, hanging very long down; two Janissaries leading each horse, and on every saddle was hung on one side a sabre, and on the other a buckler of silver, or silver buttons, with gilded figures and letters: the last horse of twelve, having his bridle and ornaments beset with precious stones of all kinds. After this, there followed a great many more on horseback, in the same order as before: each of the trains having a person with a little drum, in the form of a kettle drum, hanging on the right side of his saddle; which, when the officer began to call out, he began to beat. These were succeeded by an officer who carried a sabre in a red velvet scabbard, that seemed to be richly set with jewels. Afterwards came the ambassador in his odd machine, drawn by six little grey horses; with his travelling coach of the same shape before him, drawn by four horses. Around his coach, were three hundred Janissaries, attending in their new apparel. Last of all, in the rear, came a company on horseback, with a set of musicians, whose instruments



BOOK instruments were as odd fashioned as the ambassador's coach,  
 III. and very unharmonious. During the time he waited for his  
 interpreter, the ambassador sat up a little in his machine,  
 which was made for him to lie upon, and drank a dish of  
 coffee: for he had sent to the grand chamberlain to acquaint  
 him that he was indisposed, and demanding to make his entry  
 in his coach: but, when his interpreter returned, and ac-  
 quainted him, that, according to custom, it could not be  
 complied with, he, in a haughty manner, ordered his retinue  
 to turn about, and return to their camp: however, on the  
 23d, he made his entry on horseback, attended in the same  
 manner as before, with the addition of the camels and  
 mules.

ON the 7th of August, his lordship was put in a large  
 elbow chair, made on purpose for him, with wheels; which  
 he found more easy than the other machine; and, on the  
 10th, sat in it to eat his dinner.

ON the 3d of September, his lordship, for the first time,  
 walked on his crutches from his bed-side to the next room.

ON the 11th, in the morning, his lordship told his prin-  
 cipal domestic, with a chearful countenance, a dream he had  
 in the preceding night; which was, that bones, balls, coals,  
 and pieces of cloth, came out of his wounds: upon which  
 he awakened with joy; adding, "he hoped all would end  
 well."

ON



ON the 14th, Dr. Bafan was of opinion that the bath at Baden, four leagues from Vienna, would be of service to his lordship: whereupon, a servant was sent there to take proper apartments.

ON the 20th, his lordship was carried by two men, upon a machine, like the seat of a chair, for the first time down stairs; where he looked at his sleeping waggon, and tried how he could best be put into it; as he had thoughts of travelling in it soon to Baden.

ON the 5th of October, Mr. Robinson, who came to town from his country house to wish his lordship a good journey, and the happy effects of the bath; conducted him to his sleeping waggon, in which he was conveyed to Baden, where a house had been taken for his reception; and he received such benefit from the bath, that he was soon able to walk about with his crutches; and, on the 11th, he ordered one of his servants to play him a few tunes on the French horn.

ON the 18th, the countess Bagony, who was then at Baden, informed his lordship, that it was reported the emperor was dying: upon which, his lordship dispatched his principal domestic immediately to Vienna to get information of the truth of this report, from feldt-marshal Linden, one of his lordship's most intimate and worthy friends; who sent word to his lordship, that the emperor was extremely ill, and gave



BOOK gave a particular account of his indisposition; which his lordship sent to England, in a letter to lord Rutherford; which was given to Mr. Robinson's secretary, to be sent off by the first opportunity.

ON the 19th, feldt-marshal Linden, sent his lordship intelligence, that there were no hopes of the emperor's recovery. Upon which, his lordship sent his servant to Mr. Robinson, to acquaint him, that, if it should prove difficult at such a juncture, to send off an express by post, his servant, with a good English horse, should be at his command, and endeavour to make way through the Austrian territories: but Mr. Robinson was of opinion, there was no getting out of Austria.

ON the 20th, feldt-marshal Linden sent word to his lordship, that, the emperor had been dead a few hours; which account, his lordship also sent to lord Rutherford and Sir Robert Walpole: he afterwards sent his servant to Mr. Porter, to acquaint him of the offer he had made to Mr. Robinson; and that if he wanted a trusty person to send to England, he was at his service: but Mr. Porter, upon enquiry, told the servant, there was no possibility of getting out of Austria; for he was informed that all the endeavours of the ambassadors and envoys to give notice to their respective masters of the emperor's death, had been frustrated.

ON the 24th, feldt-marshal Linden sent to inform his lordship, that the duke of Lorrain had resigned his place of captain



captain-general, to count Palfi, and also the post which he CHAP. III.  
 had in Hungary; so that he left him the whole management of that country: he also acquainted his lordship, that general Brown was to have the command of 40,000 men in Bohemia; as also that the arch-duchess was acknowledged queen of Hungary and Bohemia. The same day, his lordship sent his principal domestic to Vienna, to give him an account of the emperor's funeral, which was to be that day; when marshal Linden got the servant a share of a window in count Altham's house, where the procession was to pass; which began about a quarter after seven in the evening; all the religious orders and clergy, walking with flambeaux in their hands, preceded by all the poor out of the different hospitals and almshouses: then came the town servants, gradually on to the magistrates and burgomasters. After them, came the inferior court servants to the highest in dignity, drest all in black: afterwards came the vocal musicians, followed by the hearse, which was supported by twelve of the principal nobility; the coffin being covered with dark silver stuff, upon which lay three gold brocade cushions; one at the head, another in the middle, and the third at the feet, whereon three crowns were placed: after this, came the imperial family, with all the court; and the guards brought up the rear.

His lordship was still in an improving condition at Baden, where he past his time in reading, or writing; and, on the 28th, ordered his tents to be pitched in the garden, being his markee, which he had caused to be made in a fashion half



BOOK Turkish and half European; with his own tent within it, III. which could be taken off at pleasure: he had also his Calmuck tent, which general Riefschach brought with him from Russia, as a present to his lordship, from a colonel of the Calmucks, who had promised it his lordship, when he attended their camp with count Munich.

ON the 2d of November, as his lordship was in the bath, and washing his wounds as usual, he felt something prick him; and, being put in bed, Mr. de Frene observed a little splinter, about the thickness of a pin, peep through the skin near the outside orifice, which he took out, and found it to be a quarter of an inch long, which came from the os femur, where it had been sawn off at Belgrade.

ON the 10th, a lump of matter came out of the outside wound the bigness of a cherry; which, being washed in spirit of wine, proved no bigger than a cherry-stone; and as Mr. de Frene pressed it betwixt his fingers, it dissolved into powder; from whence he concluded, it was a spongy part of the bone, to which some flesh, or piece of the shirt, had fastened, and so putrified together.

ON the 21st, about six in the evening, twenty cuirassiers of Caraffa's regiment, came into the yard belonging to the house where his lordship was, to quarter there for that night; and, most of them being drunk, they were so rude, as, notwithstanding it was told them a general lodged there who had



had taken the whole house, to say, "it was now their quar-  
ters, and that they would take the horses out of the stables." CHAP. III.

His lordship, hearing the noise, and being informed of their design, ordered himself to be carried to the stables, where some of the cuirassiers had already made their way: his lordship ordered one of his servants to tell them, that, he would take care of the first man who should offer to take a horse out of his stables; placing himself directly in the middle of the entry; and informing them, "that he would immediately send an express to Vienna, if they did not behave civilly;" which made them very submissive, and retire in a complaisant manner.

His lordship was now in so promising a way, that, on the dressing of his wounds, as he was earnestly looking at both his legs, having them stretched out to see the shortness of the wounded one; in a laughing way, he addressed himself to Mr. de Frene; saying, "if afterwards he should receive such another wound in his other thigh, his legs would then become equal:" to which the surgeon replied, "god forbid:" however, it afterwards had like to have happened so at the battle of Dettingen.

ON the 27th, after dinner, an officer belonging to Caraffa's regiment, waited upon his lordship, with the soldier that had been most impertinent on the 21st, to offer all the satisfaction his lordship was pleased to demand, for the soldier's rudeness; which was, that the officer should sit down by his lordship, to

U u 2

drink



BOOK drink first the queen's health, and afterwards that of his  
 III. general; his lordship declaring, "that he forgave the soldiers  
 what had passed, and intreated that they should meet with  
 the same favour from their commanding officer." The same  
 day, his lordship received a visit from the son of feldt-marshal  
 Laszy, who had made a tour to Vienna, on his travels from  
 Russia.

ON the 6th of December, a letter was received from Paris,  
 in answer to what had been wrote concerning his lordship's  
 wound, to Mr. Dibon, who approved of all Mr. de Frene's  
 proceedings; but seemed to fear a fistula; and advised his  
 lordship to use the bath at Barege in France.

ON the 16th, prince Hilburghausen sent his running foot-  
 man to acquaint his lordship that his master intended to wait  
 upon him; who accordingly came about two in the after-  
 noon, accompanied with count Pallisoti; and stayed with his  
 lordship till six; when he was under some concern that he  
 had not ordered his bed to be brought, as he had an inclination  
 to continue with his lordship all night; for he had laid it  
 down as a maxim, never to lie out of his own bed.

ON the 22d, his lordship was visited by baron Gother the  
 Prussian minister, and the envoy of Hesse-Cassel, who both  
 promised to dine with his lordship the following day.

ON



ON the 2d of January, after dinner, his lordship ordered himself to be carried to the stables, to make the first trial to sit on horseback; which was done by lifting him up, as he stood on the machine he used to be carried about in; and after putting the foot of his wounded leg in the stirrup, he gently cast his other leg over, and sat pretty upright, on a peaceable Turkish horse: they afterwards walked him up and down in the stables, to see how the motion agreed with his lordship; who then ventured out into the yard, where he was walked up and down about a quarter of an hour; and was afterwards taken off in the same manner as he had been lifted on. All this happened, without any great pain to his lordship; who told Mr. de Frene, "that he found a sort of stiffness in his upper joint;" who answered, "that the fibres and muscles of that joint, were almost dead, having been so long out of use:" which occasioned his lordship to tell Mr. de Frene, that it seemed strange to him, how dreams sometimes happen to come to pass; for he had dreamt, when at Vienna, before the campaign, that he had lost his left leg in the war.

ON the 18th, his lordship received a visit from feldt-marshal Linden, and count mac Donald, who were greatly pleased to see his lordship so well recovered, as to be able to walk with one crutch, and to ride with ease.

ON the 28th, his lordship had advice of his promotion to the command of the second troop of horse grenadier guards.

ON



## BOOK

## III.

ON the 27th of March, general Daun, who had received a wound in his leg at Krotzka, and had been some time at Aix-la-Chapelle, came to use the bath at Baden, and waited upon his lordship.

ON the 28th, his lordship gave orders to one of his servants, to set out for Vienna, and bring with him Mr. Kayser, surgeon to the grand duke of Tuscany: because his lordship was desirous of having an incision made, where the little splinter, or piece of lead, was felt, near the great artery, where the piece of bullet and splinter had been taken out in the field of battle: but Mr. de Frene seemed much against this operation, on account of its lodging so near the great artery; and his lordship was as resolute at all hazards to have it done: however, it was deferred for this time; though his lordship afterwards underwent the operation in London.

ON the 7th of April, Mr. Kayser was sent for, who came with Mr. Porter; when he insisted upon making no incision; and was much against his lordship's bathing so frequently; alledging it only weakened him, and did no good to his wound.

ON the 18th, his lordship happened to sit down on a green bank in the garden, and looking at the person who brought him off the field of battle, a little after said, "this is the first



first time of my sitting on the grafs since Krotzka:" after which, he seemed to be more serious than usual.

CHAP.  
III.  


ON the 28th, his lordship received a visit from prince Lichtenstein and feldt-marshal Linden, who dined with his lordship, and afterwards returned to Vienna.

ON the 30th, he was visited by count Pattin and his three daughters, with Mr. Porter and colonel Callaghan, who was frequently with his lordship, with whom he was a particular favourite.

ON the 4th of May, his lordship told Mr. de Frene that he must make the operation to take out the splinter, which was lodged near the great artery; or else he would fall about it himself: which greatly surpris'd Mr. de Frene, who told him, that he would not make the operation; and god forbid his lordship should have any thoughts to undertake it.

ON the 8th, his lordship was invited by the burghers company of marksmen, to honour them with his presence; which he did, and won the two best prizes: whereupon, according to custom, he invited all the company to a shooting match, which was to be on the 11th; when his lordship provided an elegant cold entertainment for them, with plenty of wine; besides trumpets, kettle-drums, French horns, and other musick, which played every time any person hit the black mark.

ON



BOOK  
III.

ON the 28th, his lordship rode about two hours, when he trotted a little as he had frequently done before, and had once an inclination to try a gallop; but, as Mr. de Frene was not along with him, he let it alone.

ON the 30th, the wound discharged a great quantity of matter, and grew so excessive painful as to bring on a fever.

ON the 4th of June, Mr. de Frene received an order from the council of war, to prepare for going to the army in Silesia; who set out from Baden on the 7th; declaring, "that he hoped his lordship would get entirely cured by the wound closing up;" though many were of opinion it would continue fistulous; adding likewise, that any person in the house could supply his place, because nature and good baths must effectuate the cure.

AT this time, there were several of the nobility at Baden, who had given his lordship an invitation to a ball: upon which, his lordship invited them in his turn to his house; where they came, on the 14th, to the number of thirty persons; among whom, none at first would open the ball; till his lordship took a lady by the hand, and bid the musick play a minuet; then, making a bow, recommended her to another.

ON the 22d, a famous surgeon, sent by count Lesly from Gratz, waited upon his lordship to give him his opinion of the wound;



wound; when he advised him not to venture the operation, CHAP. III.  
which his lordship was desirous of having by the great artery.

ON the 27th of July, his lordship paid a visit to Mr. Robinson, at his country house called Hetzendorff, about two or three English miles from Vienna on the Baden side: though his lordship went first to one of the suburbs at Vienna, to see the Turkish horses which Sir Everard Faulkner had sent as a present to his Britannic majesty from Constantinople.

ON the 1st of August, colonel Callaghan, attended with his lordship's principal domestic, set out for Hainburg, near Presburg, to look after some lodgings which baron Aquillon had offered his lordship, upon hearing he soon intended to set out for Presburg, to take leave of the queen of Hungary, who was then in that capital, where no houses could be got: so that his lordship was desirous of having what baron Aquillon had offered, which had been a large old palace, formerly used for a hunting seat, but now serving for the great fabrick of tobacco, under the direction of that baron.

ON the 11th, his lordship set out from Baden in his sleeping waggon, drawn by six post horses, for Hainburg; where he safely arrived, and sent to get lodgings at Presburg, in which he succeeded.

ON the 15th, his lordship set out for Presburg in a new chariot of his own, drawn by a set of fine grey Hungarian horses,



Book horses, and arrived at Presburg the same evening: but the  
III. next morning, he was informed that the queen was gone from  
thence for a few days. His lordship dined with count Kinsky;  
and, after dinner, attended by count Hohenzollern, went to  
see the Palatine's house and garden, situate at a little distance  
from the town; but the Palatine, being at Presburg, waited  
upon his lordship in the mean time.

THE next day, his lordship dined with prince Esterhazy, at  
his country palace, about three English miles out of town, on  
the other side the Danube.

ON the 18th, his lordship employed all the day in paying  
visits to the nobility, dining at home, that he might have the  
afternoon, as well as forenoon, for that purpose. His  
equipage, on such occasions, consisted of a running footman  
before his chariot, drawn by two horses, with a hussar and  
Polack standing behind it: his two principal domestics fol-  
lowing on fine horses, attended by a groom. As soon as the  
chariot stopt, the hussar and Polack took the horses, while the  
two chief attendants helped his lordship out of the chariot,  
and attended him up stairs to the person of quality, or com-  
pany he visited; one of them attending him to his chair, and  
taking away his crutches.

ON the 19th, his lordship had an audience from her Hun-  
garian majesty, in the castle of Presburg, to which he was  
introduced by Mr. Robinson about four in the afternoon;  
when



when her majesty received his lordship in a most gracious manner, thanking him for his services, and expressing the greatest concern for his misfortune. His lordship's equipage, at this time, made a pretty appearance; consisting of a running footman before: then a hussar on horseback, followed by a groom with a led horse, adorned with fine silver stuff furniture embroidered with gold, covered with fine blue cloth, upon which his coat of arms was richly embossed: then came his lordship in his chariot drawn by the six Hungarian grey horses, richly adorned with gold and crimson silk ornaments; a Turk and Polack standing behind, dressed in blue habits, after the fashions of their countries, adorned with gold and crimson fringe: then followed his lordship's principal domestic, with one Andre, who had been valet de chambre to prince Waldeck in Hungary, both well mounted, with fine furniture: and last of all followed a groom: every thing being very noble, and greatly admired.

ON the 20th, about ten in the morning, his lordship went in the same manner with Mr. Robinson to court, when he had audience of the grand duke, and prince Charles, and afterwards dined at the great chancellor's; as he did on the following day at the bishop of Colotzo's, after receiving the visits of most of the nobility.

THERE was a camp formed near Presburg, where his lordship dined on the 22d, with count Burghausen, who commanded a regiment: after which, his lordship was attended



BOOK by Mr. Kayser, the queen's surgeon, who again advised his  
III. lordship not to undergo the operation he wanted, near the  
grand artery.

ON the 23d, his lordship dined again with prince Esterhasi, at his country seat; and the next day returned to Hainburg, from whence he set out for Vienna, where he arrived on the 26th, and continued there till the 1st of September, when he had an audience of the empress Amelia, and the empress dowager Elizabeth; after which, he took leave of Mr. Robinson, and got every thing in readiness for his journey to Hanover, to pay his duty to his Britannic majesty, who was at that time in his German dominions. The equipage was sent before, consisting of three baggage waggons, twenty-two horses, and two mules; which were followed by his lordship, on the 2d of September; when he set out from Vienna for Bohemia, in his chariot drawn by four post horses; attended by six servants, and the sleeping waggon drawn by four other horses. They had good even roads, through a well cultivated country in Moravia, for the first and second days: but on the third, when they reached the confines of Bohemia, they had very mountainous bad roads, which continued so till they arrived at Prague on the 6th; having travelled one hundred and forty miles north-west from Vienna. His lordship, in the year 1736, when he went to meet the Russian auxiliaries in Bohemia, contracted an acquaintance with general Ogilvy, the governor of Prague, the arch-bishop, and several of the nobility: by most of whom his lordship was now visited, which



which detained him there till the 8th; when he continued his journey through a mountainous country for Dresden, the capital of Saxony, where he arrived on the 10th; having travelled sixty-five miles to the north-west of Prague. CHAP. III.

MR. Villiers, the British envoy at the court of Dresden, had provided lodgings for his lordship's reception, and immediately waited upon him on his arrival. The next day, his lordship was visited by his old friends count Rutowski, count Cosel, and several other officers who were acquainted with his lordship when they served together as volunteers on the Rhine. His lordship was also visited by the principal nobility, who invited him to several assemblies, and conducted him to their places of curiosity; but his lordship was mostly delighted with viewing the arsenal, where he saw a new sort of pontoons made of white iron with separations, whereby a ball might go through the boat without sinking it.

As his lordship was obliged to walk a good deal in seeing these curiosities, he was very much fatigued; and, on the 14th, complained of a pain in his thigh, which was somewhat inflamed where the ball entered: whereupon, count Rutowski sent prince Lubomirski's surgeon to give his opinion about the wound; who gave good hopes of curing the fistula; and was of opinion there was no danger in taking out the splinter, or piece of lead, which could be felt near the great artery; saying, "that this operation was necessary to be done, since it was very possible the daily product of matter proceeded



BOOK cceeded from thence ;" declaring, if his lordship would retard  
III. his journey for a fortnight, he would undertake it : but his  
lordship, being willing to see his Britannic majesty before he  
left Hanover, resolved to proceed on his journey the next day,  
which he accordingly did, and came to Miffen about two in  
the afternoon, where the great porcelain manufacture is car-  
ried on ; to see which, his lordship had received an order  
from court, and accordingly went to satisfy his curiosity. In  
the two first rooms they made models ; in another they  
dried them ; in others they painted and gilded the porcelain,  
and made the forms wherein each piece was put before it went  
to the oven in another. His lordship was afterwards shewn  
the ovens, and every thing but the composition of the  
porcelain ; when they told him that about fifteen hundred men  
were daily at work, and that the monthly expence amounted  
to ten or eleven thousand dollars.

ON the 16th, his lordship continued his journey to Leipzig,  
where he arrived the next day ; though in a very painful con-  
dition with his wound.

MR. Zomish, his lordship's banker, had provided lodgings  
for him in the suburbs, and procured a physician and  
surgeon, who attended his lordship, and examined the wound ;  
upon founding of which, the surgeon found a cavity about  
two inches deep, but could feel no splinters : from whence he  
judged, that some small corp had putrified to matter, and so  
been discharged.

ON



ON the 20th, his lordship continued his rout for Hanover, where he arrived on the 22d; his brave friend general Diemar having provided lodgings for his reception, who immediately visited him; lamenting his lordship's misfortune with a kind of paternal fondness: for this old gallant officer behaved like a father to his lordship when he made the campaign on the Rhine; and he had received so many wounds in battle, that he well knew how to compassionate a fellow-sufferer in what he called noble afflictions.

THE next day, general Diemar, together with count Ostein, who was there in quality of the queen of Hungary's ambassador, visited his lordship; the general having sent before Mr. Dipo, an able surgeon, to examine the wound, who gave his lordship good hopes of a radical cure; to which nature, he said, had the best part to act.

HIS majesty was, at this time, at Hamelin, twenty-seven miles south-west of Hanover, where he was preparing to review the electoral troops, which were encamped in that neighbourhood near the river Wefer: so that his lordship sent his servant there to look out for lodgings; who was informed, by the king's chamber fourir, that lodgings had already been provided for his lordship by his majesty's order. His lordship arrived at Hamelin on the 3d of October, about six o'clock in the afternoon; when he immediately dressed, and went to court in a chair, where there was a numerous levee. His majesty



BOOK III. majesty being informed that the earl of Craufurd was there, lord Harrington called out to his lordship, to acquaint him, that the king wanted to speak with him: upon which, an opening was immediately made for his lordship, who walked upon his crutches towards the upper end of the room, where his majesty was sitting at a table; who, as soon as he saw his lordship coming up to him, called in English, with a compassionate voice, "how do you do my lord? I am heartily sorry for you:" which he repeated several times: and when his lordship was come quite up to his majesty, and going to bow down and kiss his hand, he said, "no, no, my dear lord, keep up:" after which, his majesty held a long conversation with his lordship, and invited him to the review of his troops, which was to be the next day.

THE next morning, prince William of Hesse-Cassel stopt with his coach at his lordship's lodgings, and took him up with him to the camp; where, when his majesty came out, his lordship mounted a horse belonging to general Diemar, upon which he rode with his majesty along the line, and back to the king's tent, where the troops were to pass in review; and where his majesty had ordered a chair to be brought for his lordship to sit beside him, that it might be easier for him on account of his wound, to see the troops. Both men and horses made such a fine appearance, as to give his majesty great satisfaction, who addressed himself several times to his lordship, desiring to know his opinion of them; and, while a regiment of horse was passing by, his majesty had one of the



the trooper's swords brought to him, which he put into his lordship's hand, bidding him feel it; who handled it, and told his majesty such swords were fit for execution. When the review was over, his lordship followed the king to court, where he dined with his majesty.

ON the 7th, his lordship went to the Hessian camp, about eight miles higher up the Weser, where his majesty also arrived about ten, and desired his lordship not to mount on horseback, as he had done at the review before, for fear of some accident among such a croud of horses: so that his lordship passed the front of the troops in his sleeping waggon. His majesty likewise ordered a chair to be placed near him for his lordship to see the review; who afterwards dined with prince George of Hesse, at a village on the other side of the Weser, opposite to the camp; and, in the afternoon, went to Hamelin to take leave of the king, who was to set out the next morning for Linsburg, with an intention to review the Danes, who were encamped at Wehren.

ON the 10th, his lordship sent his waggon-master, with two Ukranian tygered mares, and a Brown Tartarian one, as also a Calmuck tent, with a letter to lord Harrington, to offer them as a present to the king; who was very well pleased with the offer, but accepted of the tent only.

ON the 11th, his lordship attended his majesty to see another corps of Hanoverian troops encamped at Nienberg;

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where



BOOK where his majesty had again ordered an apartment for his  
III. lordship; who, on the 13th, also accompanied his majesty to  
a review of the Danish troops then in the British pay; where  
his lordship was again favoured with a chair to sit by the king,  
and afterwards dined at court.

ON the 15th, his lordship followed his majesty to Linsburg, where he had great respect shewn him by his royal master; who, on the 16th, sent for Mr. Ebers, surgeon-major of a regiment, who was esteemed one of the best in the army, having performed many desperate cures with great success. Mr. Ebers brought another surgeon with him to examine his lordship's wound; who withdrew to his apartment, and shewed them his wound; giving them, at the same time, a short relation of it; and likewise letting them see the box of splinters and pieces of ball that had been extracted. Mr. Ebers examined the wound very narrowly, and tried, with a horse hair sound, to find out the cavity from whence the matter proceeded; but he could not discover it any more than the rest who had made the same tryal before him: however, he was of opinion that his lordship would get free of the fistula, and be entirely cured; saying, at the same time, "if he had been the first operator, he would have made the orifice or incision so wide at the beginning, that he should have taken out all the splinters." About an hour after, Mr. Ebers was called to the king; when he took the little box of splinters and pieces of ball along with him to shew to his majesty; who kept him near half an hour in conversation; making great enquiry,



enquiry, and hearing every particular about his lordship's wound; which he did with the greatest concern.

CHAP. III.

ON the 23d, his lordship took leave of the king, who was to set out in a few days for England; as he also did of the nobility; having ordered all things for his journey for Bremen, which he undertook on the 26th, in his sleeping waggon, and arrived there the same evening: from whence he embarked for England on the 28th, on board a Dutch fishing boat, as no other vessel was to be had in any reasonable time. His lordship had a safe passage, leaving his equipage behind him, consisting of twenty-three horses, a chariot, and a sleeping waggon; besides baggage waggons, and ten servants, who were to winter at Hanover; for his lordship foresaw he should have occasion for them there; because he apprehended his Britannic majesty would send a body of auxiliary troops to the assistance of the queen of Hungary, who was then surrounded with invaders.



## BOOK IV.

## CHAP. I.

His lordship's journey to the baths of Barege in France, and those of Aix in Savoy, in 1742; when he made a campaign under the king of Sardinia. His influence at Geneva. His journey to Milan and Genoa, in 1743; when his lordship joined the Austrian army commanded by marshal Traun. His journey through Mantua, and Verona, to Venice: from thence through Gratz and Lintz into Bavaria, where he visited the Austrian army commanded by marshal Khevenhuller. His journey through Bohemia into Saxony, and his reception at the court of Saxe Gotha. His journey from thence to the confederate army on the Maine. An account of the rise of the late war; as also of the campaign of 1743 in Germany, and of the battle of Dettingen; with a relation of his lordship's behaviour in that engagement.

BOOK  
IV.

**T**HE earl of Craufurd, before the battle of Krotzka, had sufficient reason to apprehend that the campaign of 1739 must necessarily be productive of a peace:  
upon



upon which presumption, he wrote to Sir Everard Faulkner, CHAP. the British minister at Constantinople, to procure him a pass I. from the grand seignior for his lordship to visit that city; which he received while he lay ill of his wound at Belgrade. His intention, in getting this pass, was to have travelled through the Ottoman dominions as far as Constantinople, where he designed to hire a ship to have visited all the islands in the Archipelago and the Mediterranean in his way to England; where, if no military scene was afforded among the European powers, he was resolved to ask his majesty's permission to go into the Persian service, as a volunteer under the emperor Thamas Kouli Kan: but his unhappy wound prevented his journey into Turkey; and the war in Germany afterwards yielded him a noble chance in the game of glory, without seeking for it in Persia.

FORTUNE employs herself more precariously in military scenes, than in any other condition of life: thus Ifadas, when the Thebans attacked Sparta, escaped without receiving a single wound, though he fought naked for a considerable time, and in the thickest of his enemies: thus Hannibal, in all his numerous engagements, received no hurt; and the duke of Marlborough escaped in the same manner: while we find Agis sinking dead upon his armour: Alexander almost wounded to death at Cyropolis: Turnee killed by a random shot as he was passing the Rhine; and the earl of Craufurd almost expiring at Krotzka. Whether this arises from the chance of war, or the allotted fate of men, is not for me to determine; but.



BOOK but those foldiers are certainly the beſt who embrace the latter  
IV. opinion: however, a noble death is the greateſt glory of a  
foldier, every wound being no more than a tax upon his  
fame: and while the earl of Craufurd was under his affliction,  
he thought it an ample compenſation thereby to have gained  
the friendſhip of ſuch illuſtrious warriors as the princes  
Eugene, Charles of Lorrain, Waldeck, Hilburghauſen,  
Birkenfield, and Ferdinand of Bavaria; as alſo of the counts  
Munich, Laſcy, Keith, Khevenhuller, Konigſeck, Bathiani,  
Linden, Diemar, Bernclau, and Lowendahl; all of whom  
admired his martial diſpoſition, and affectionately eſteemed  
him for that noble ſoul which was ſo ſimilar to their own;  
delighting in his private converſation, and always admitting  
him to their public conſultations, where he aſſiſted at the  
councils of war, and became ſo intimately acquainted with  
the ſprings and ſecrets of every tranſaction, that he was pro-  
perly qualified for any important command.

WHILE his lordſhip lay ill of his wounds at Belgrade, he  
had the ſatisfaction to find that his military virtue had ſo far  
diſtinguiſhed him in his native country, as to promote him to  
the rank of adjutant-general and colonel of horſe, which  
honour was conferred on the 2d of July 1739; but, on the  
25th of October following, his majeſty further honoured him  
with the commiſſion of colonel of the Highlander's regiment;  
and, on the 25th of December 1740, his lordſhip obtained  
the commiſſion of colonel of the ſecond troop of horſe  
grenadier guards. Beſides which, his lordſhip continued ſtill



as a member of the legislature, being re-elected one of the CHAP. sixteen peers for Scotland while he was abroad; his lordship I. having appointed the earl of Ilay to act as his proxy; and, on his return, his lordship continued one of the sixteen peers to the time of his death.

THE earl of Craufurd, being advised by all his physicians to repair to, and use, the waters of Barege, in the south part of France, which are in great reputation for their efficacy in all sorts of long contracted wounds; in consideration thereof, his majesty gave orders to the lords of the admiralty to fit out a man of war to conduct his lordship to Bourdeaux; and, while the ship was getting ready, his majesty was likewise graciously pleased to order one of the secretaries of state to speak to monsieur de Buffy, at that time minister for the affairs of France, to procure from his court, proper passes for his lordship to go through the French territories; which monsieur de Buffy soon after procured, and delivered to his lordship: the one being signed by the French king; the other by the farmers-general and commandants of the custom-house, with the extraordinary permission for his lordship, his attendants, and baggage, to pass through the whole kingdom, without the least detention or examination; but, on the contrary, to shew him all the marks of honour due to his rank, and to give him all possible assistance. Immediately after his lordship obtained this pass, he set out for Portsmouth; where, on the 23d of May 1742, he embarked on board the Lyme man of war, commanded by captain Pritchard, who lay off Spithead,



BOOK IV. Spithead, and saluted his lordship with eleven guns; after which, he immediately set sail for Bourdeaux, where they arrived on the 30th. The next day, his lordship dined with the commandant; and, on the 3d of June, set out for Barege, where he arrived on the 12th. After frequently bathing, his wound broke open on the 28th; and, on the 12th of July, his lordship, for the first time, walked with a crutch, and a high-heeled shoe.

His lordship, during his residence at Barege, was frequently in company with the countess of Bouillon, and several other ladies, whom he one day accompanied up the highest of the adjacent Pyrenean hills, called Bic de Midday, about three miles in ascent; but this extraordinary motion cast out a splinter from the wound, which a few days after was followed by a piece of lead.

ON the 19th of September, his lordship left Barege, and proceeded to the baths of Aix in Savoy, where he arrived on the 16th of October; having passed through Thoulouse, Lyons, and Chambery. His lordship used the baths twice a day, and found such benefit by them, that he was determined to join the Piedmontese army then encamped at Montmellian, under the command of his Sardinian majesty, on the first notice of an approaching engagement with the Spanish army, then under the cannon of the fortress of Barreux in Dauphine, commanded by the infant don Philip, and the count de Glimes: the advanced posts of both armies being in sight of each



each other: in which position the two armies remained till CHAP.  
the beginning of December. I.

ON the 1st of November, his Sardinian majesty sent one of his litters to convey his lordship to Chamberry, where he alighted at the house of the British envoy, who the next day accompanied his lordship to Montmellian, where the king had his head quarters, and who gave his lordship a most gracious reception. On the 5th, his lordship returned to the camp, and dined with his majesty; who, after dinner, together with the engineer-general, accompanied his lordship on horseback to reconnoitre and visit the advanced posts; where his majesty was prodigiously charmed with several observations made by his lordship; and, during the time of his continuance in the camp, paid him all the distinguishing marks of politeness and esteem; being extremely fond of discoursing with his lordship on military operations, which was natural to so brave a monarch, whose valour was now the only barrier of Italy against the invading Spaniards, at this time endeavouring to obtain a new dominion for another branch of the Bourbon family.

As there was no appearance of an action, his lordship took leave of his Sardinian majesty, after dining with him, on the 18th of November, and made preparations to set out for Geneva, where he arrived on the 23d; and, on the 11th of December, received intelligence that the Spaniards, now commanded by the marquis de la Minas, were in march towards



BOOK the Chateau of Apremont, with a resolution to attack the  
IV. castle there, as well as those of the marches and at Mians, to  
force a passage through the mountains of Dauphine into  
Savoy: upon which, his lordship set out on his return to the  
Sardinian camp; but, before his arrival, the Spaniards had  
forced a passage, and were entering Chamberry, just as his  
lordship was in sight of the city; which occasioned his return  
to Geneva, while the king of Sardinia retired into Piedmont.

DURING the residence of his lordship at Geneva, the French  
and Spaniards exerted all their interest with the senators of  
that republic, as also with the Helvetic Cantons, to facilitate  
their passage into Savoy; which his lordship very seasonably  
opposed by his personal interest with some of the senators, and  
his pecuniary influence with others; whereby he was signally  
instrumental in preventing them from giving their votes to let  
the Spaniards march into the Milanese by the Val Dom  
Dossola, suddenly to fall in by the Lago Maggiore.

ON the 1st of January 1743, his lordship quitted Geneva,  
intending to make the tour of Italy in his way to Germany,  
where an embarkation of British troops was expected for the  
service of her Hungarian majesty, when his lordship intended  
to make another campaign: on the 11th, he arrived at Milan;  
from whence he made an excursion to Genoa; and afterwards  
set out for Venice, by way of Parma: but at Modena, he  
found his old acquaintance the generals Ciceri, Pertusadi,  
and Pallavicini; who, under marshal Traun, the commander  
of



of the Austrian forces, had taken up their winter quarters in the Modenese, occasioned by the junction of the duke of Modena with the Spanish forces commanded by the count de Gages, who had taken up their winter quarters in the Bolognese and Romagna; and who, by order of his most catholic majesty, were at this time privately preparing to surprize the Austrians before they were properly collected together: but the Austrian general had intelligence of their design, and gave them a proper reception on the banks of the Panaro, which brought on the battle of Campo Santo, wherein the Spaniards were defeated: though marshal Traun was obliged to act so privately and expeditiously in this march, that the earl of Craufurd had not time to accompany his old military companions in this engagement; which gave him a very sensible mortification: for, like a staunch hound, he was now in scent of the game, and interrupted from the chace. However, immediately after the battle, general Pallavicini came with his coach, and conducted his lordship to Carpi, where marshal Traun had taken up his head quarters, who had prepared apartments for his lordship in count Schulemburg's quarters, and detained him there three days; shewing him the most honourable respect, and giving him letters for Mantua to the count de la Porta, general Cavalieri, siegnor Petrucci, and several other of the nobility, who, on his arrival in that city, all waited on his lordship, and shewed him the highest marks of distinction, during his residence there, which was three days; when he departed for Verona, where he arrived on the 1st of March, and was visited by marshal Schulemburg, generalissimo



Book generalissimo of the Venetian forces, who was excessively  
 IV. fond of his lordship's company, and detained him three days:  
 after which, his lordship spent a few days in the city of Venice;  
 and then set out, by way of Trieste, for Gratz in Stiria,  
 where he was well entertained by count Lesly. His lordship  
 from thence, set out for Lintz, where he arrived on the 3d  
 of April, and was kindly received by commissary general  
 count Salemborg, count Weissenfelt, and several other of the  
 nobility, who are very numerous in this city. On the 12th,  
 his lordship came to Effering, a castle belonging to count  
 Staremborg, who invited his lordship to dinner, and detained  
 him the whole night: after which, his lordship arrived at  
 Berbach, a few leagues from Raab, the head quarters of  
 marshal Khevenhuller in Bavaria, to whom his lordship sent  
 one of his upper servants with a letter; when the marshal and  
 general Luchesi made particular enquiry concerning his lord-  
 ship's health, and the condition of his wound: the marshal  
 also returned a very complaisant letter, and immediately sent  
 a guard of hussars to attend his lordship, who arrived at Raab  
 on the 14th, and dined with marshal Khevenhuller, where  
 he was received with the highest marks of friendship: but  
 his lordship, immediately after dinner, set out with an escort  
 for Passau, in his way to the Rhine, where the confederate  
 army, of British, Austrian, Hanoverian, and Hessian troops,  
 were assembling under the command of marshal Stair.

ON the 16th, his lordship arrived at Passau, where he  
 received the compliments of captain Goring, and of several  
 other



other English, Scotch, and Irish gentlemen in the service of her Hungarian majesty. The next day, he dined with general Roda, and in the evening visited general Spada. On the 18th, general Brown took his lordship to review three hundred recruits belonging to his regiment; and the next day, the general passed his whole regiment in review before his lordship. On the 21st, general Brown and count Tourn accompanied his lordship to dine with cardinal Lamberg, bishop of Passau, whose see is an independant territory subject to the bishop. On the 24th, prince Charles of Lorrain arrived at Passau; who dined with general Brown and the earl of Craufurd: after which, they reviewed the three regiments of foot of Brown, Molck, and Hilburghausen.

On the 25th, his lordship departed from Passau, attended with two dragoons, and two cuirassiers, to escort him to Pilsen in Bohemia. At Gravenau, he supped with general Andrachi; and, on the 27th, arrived at the foot of the mountain called old Hizir, which is the passage into Bohemia; where his lordship met with such miserable accommodation, that he was obliged to lie all the night upon straw, with a large family of children in the same room with him. The next morning, they were about four hours in passing the mountain; when they came to a poor little place, called Coutswatick: after which, they arrived at the little city of Wintzberg, and the same night came to Wooling. The 30th, they passed by the cities of Straganetz and Oragonovitz; as also by the town of Eléshow. On the 1st of May, they arrived



BOOK arrived at Presnitz: from whence his lordship at first intended to visit Prague, and the army commanded by prince Lobkowitz: but, as the British forces were now in Germany, his lordship altered his route, and set out the next day for Leipzig in Saxony. Having passed Pilsen, on the 5th, they arrived at Diezing: on the 6th, they reached Carlsbach; and, on the 8th, arrived at Jacumstal, situate at the bottom of the mountain, called Derknerberg, which separates Bohemia from Saxony. On the 9th, they passed the mountains, and came to Vifendel, the first town in Saxony; where his lordship dismissed the escort from Passau, and took up his lodgings at Alterning: the next day, they arrived at Zwickau; and on the 11th came to Altenburg, a city belonging to the duke of Saxe Gotha. On the 12th, they arrived at Pega; and, the next day, came to the city of Weissenfels: the next to Ourstel; and on the 16th, to Saxe Gotha, where his lordship dined with the duke the day following, and was nobly received by the whole court. On the 18th, his lordship set out from Saxe Gotha for Frankfort, and the same night came to Eyfenach: the next day to Hersfield; the next to Friedberg; and, on the 24th, to Frankfort, where his lordship joined the British forces, and their confederates, at that time encamped at Hoechst on the banks of the Maine: where his lordship was now to display his military talents in the presence of his king, and in the eyes of his own countrymen.

THIS war broke out on the 4th of December 1740, being occasioned by the death of the emperor Charles vi. when  
Spain,



Spain, France, Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria, broke through the covenants of the pragmatic sanction, and invaded the possessions of the house of Austria on every side. France had marched an army into Bohemia, and took Prague, the capital city of that kingdom: but they were afterwards expelled with prodigious loss. The elector of Bavaria had ascended the imperial throne: but that election lost him his hereditary dominions, which were invaded and taken by the victorious Austrians, who were now animated by the vicinity and assistance of their British confederates, brought there, as the sons of liberty, to oppose the arbitrary views of France in Germany: while his Sardinian majesty assisted the arms of the Hungarian queen against the united force of the French, Spaniards, Neapolitans, Modenese, and Genoese in Italy: all which was done by the vigilance of lord Carteret, who then presided in the British ministry; and who, conscious of the bad effects which had resulted from the timidity of his predecessor, was sensible that nothing could preserve the Austrian family but a vigorous and seasonable support from Great Britain; because, if she stood indolently by, as she had formerly done, while her natural ally was strongly deprest by her natural enemy, she must have eventually found her own ruin in that of the house of Austria: which was the reason why lord Carteret was for supporting her Hungarian majesty, when her circumstances were imagined to be past redress: but this the British minister represented as a fallacious opinion; he insisted that she might not only be relieved from her present misery, but re-instated in her former glory; and he as nobly put what he



BOOK he said into execution: which proved his superior ability of  
IV. head, and his integrity of heart; his consistency in council,  
and his resolution in action.

WHILE the earl of Craufurd was in his tour to the British army, his majesty honoured him with the commission of colonel of the fourth troop of horse-guards; and, on his arrival at Hanau, with the duke of Cumberland, and lord Carteret, his majesty received the earl of Craufurd in a very gracious manner: while marshal Stair complimented his lordship with the honour paid to a general officer, by appointing him an apartment in a house; which his lordship refused; chusing rather to act as became the rank of a colonel, and lie with his men in the field.

THE confederate army, commanded by marshal Stair, consisted of about 38,000 men; and the French army, commanded by marshal Noailles, consisted of 58,000: but, notwithstanding this superiority of the French, marshal Stair was not averse to an engagement, which encouraged him to venture higher up the Maine, towards Aschaffenberg; where the French marshal followed him on the opposite side of the river; and when his Britannic majesty joined the army, he found the confederates in a dangerous situation from the vicinity of the French. However, as his majesty was desirous of facilitating the junction of six thousand Hanoverians and six thousand Hessians, commanded by prince George of Hesse Cassel, and general Druchleben, a resolution was taken to march



march the confederate army back to Hanau, to join this reinforcement; which the French marshal was equally desirous to circumvent; and while the confederates were preparing for their march, the French were preparing for an engagement: which brought on the battle of Dettingen.

ACCORDINGLY on the 16th of June, about four o'clock in the morning, the confederates began their march towards Dettingen: in the mean time, 30,000 French passed the Maine, under the command of the duke of Grammont, with orders to wait the approach of the confederates at the opening of a defile below Dettingen; while marshal Noailles marched the remainder of his forces along the Maine, in sight of the confederates. Both armies cannonaded each other a-cross the river between eight and nine o'clock; when the confederates perceived the body of troops commanded by the duke of Grammont extending themselves between the villages of Dettingen and Welsheim, towards the mountains, less than a mile distant from the confederates, who were obliged to form with all possible expedition. The cannonading a-cross the river continued above three hours, with terrible execution on both sides; and, about twelve o'clock, the duke of Grammont very imprudently passed the defile, which began the engagement. It was disputed with great obstinacy for a considerable time; but, at two o'clock, the French gave way, quitted the field of battle, and repassed the Maine, with great loss, and no small share of dishonour; having lost about six thousand men, either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners;

A a a

while



BOOK while the confederates lost only two thousand six hundred men:

IV. whereby his Britannic majesty accomplished his design in marching to Hanau.

THE earl of Craufurd, at this battle, commanded the brigade of life-guards, where he greatly distinguished himself by his prudence and bravery. His lordship ordered all the officers under his command to form in front of the brigade, where he was himself at the head, animating his men, and instructing them how to behave; but, observing one of them stoop when the cannon balls were flying about, he cried out, "don't stoop my lads; for if they are to hit you, they will for all that:" upon which, colonel Driver addressed himself to the men, and said, "gentlemen, you cannot have a better leader than lord Craufurd; follow his example, and you must gain immortal honour." His lordship, in this engagement, evidently shewed that he had a great genius for war, and a most forcible disposition to accomplish himself in every part of military knowledge: for besides his singular intrepidity, and remarkable calmness and presence of mind, in the midst of the greatest dangers; he had also a constant attention to every thing that passed in the time of action, with a wonderful quickness in discerning and improving any sudden accident or alteration to his own advantage: of which he gave an apparent instance at this time, when he happened to be in gold-staff waiting, and had the charge of his majesty's person. For as his lordship was moving his brigade through the field, observing what past in the time of action, he discovered  
a French



a French battery, which had not been played all the day, CHAP. I.  
planted in a place where no cannon was suspected, and pointed directly upon his majesty. Had his lordship, upon this discovery, made the least stop, as any person less attentive than he was, and less quick in forming just measures upon every casualty that happened, would have done; the enemy, no doubt, would have been sensible they were discovered, and would have done all the mischief they were able from this battery: but, instead of this, his lordship continued moving forward in the same direction; and then made a tour as if he intended to attack a small body of horse, which was posted near that battery: whereby the enemy, observing this manœuvre, reinforced this corps with a large body of cavalry; and then advanced to attack his lordship, who continued to move forward by several counter-marches and wheelings, as if he intended some times to receive them in front, and at other times to attack them in flank; until he had drawn their whole body of cavalry between himself and their battery; when he retired to his majesty to receive his further instructions: which excellent behaviour won his lordship the affection of his soldiers in so extraordinary a degree, that they ever after acknowledged him the protector of their lives.

Soon after, an aid de camp came to his lordship, with orders to charge the French infantry, which were, within about forty or fifty paces, in front of his brigade: when his lordship answered the aid de camp, "mind, sir, I shall obey orders, when it suits most proper." Then turning to his men,

A a a 2

with



BOOK with a great deal of vivacity, said, "come, my brave lads, IV. follow me! I warrant you, we shall soon defeat 'em:" after which, he led them on, with this caution; "hark, my dear lads! trust to your swords; handle them well; and never mind your pistols:" which injunction they punctually obeyed; and, like true Britons, when properly directed, drove the French before them with great slaughter: when, on their beginning to give way, the trumpeter of his lordship's troop, of his own accord, sounded *Britons, strike home!* upon which, his lordship turned about, and thanked him.

WHEN the French retired, the earl of Stair was for pursuing them over the Maine; but in this he was prevented by some other of the confederate generals who were of a contrary opinion: however, the earl of Craufurd, who was of the same inclination with marshal Stair, followed the French in the retreat, and got upon an eminence, where he found all clear; and, because it was then suspected that they could not be safely pursued, he waved his hat to the confederates, to let them know they might safely follow the pursuit.

IN the beginning of the action, the earl of Craufurd received a shot, which went through his right holster-case, on his sound side; but luckily hit the barrel of his pistol, and dropt dead in the holster-case; which ball, his lordship shewed the next day to his majesty at Hanau, who, when he saw his lordship approaching, said, "HERE COMES MY CHAMPION."



THE duke of Grammont, in this battle, seems to have copied the example of Curio when he was defeated by the Numidians; which Cæsar principally attributed to his youthful courage and heat; because, these are always attended with strong affections, consonant to the quality and temperature of the body; being then in the prime height of strength, and accordingly led on with violent emotions: whereas, age proceeds slowly and coldly forwards, being always surer in undertaking than the intemperate bravery of youth: of which, marshal Noailles was sensible when it was too late: but, the duke of Grammont, though he was certainly a brave officer, did not follow the example of Curio to the end, who, when Domitius persuaded him to save himself by flight, confidently replied, "that he would never come in the fight of Cæsar, having lost the army committed to his charge;" and thereupon valiantly ended his life in the conflict: which serves to evince the old military corollary, that prudence is superior to courage, as much as Fabius was superior to Marcellus.

THE two armies continued in the field till the 11th of October; when they went into winter quarters, without undertaking any other considerable operation after the battle of Dettingen; except the demolition of the French entrenchments on the Queich, which was effected without opposition: whereupon his Britannic majesty returned to England; and the earl of Craufurd repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he spent the winter, and was ready for the ensuing campaign in Flanders.



## C H A P. II.

The declaration of war by France against the king of Great Britain and the queen of Hungary. A short account of the campaign in Flanders in 1744, with remarks thereon, by the earl of Craufurd: together with his lordship's account of the measures concerted for opening the next campaign; and his opinion, at length, as delivered in a council of war, relative to the detaching a body of forces for the security of the empire.

BOOK  
IV.

**T**HE battle of Dettingen sufficiently explained the intentions of France, which she had before intimated by conducting the Spanish fleet from Toulon; and these were both followed, at the beginning of the year 1744, by an embarkation of troops from Dunkirk, destined to invade England, in favour of the Pretender: but, through the vigilance of the British ministry, the French were obliged to relinquish their project; however, the French monarch, on the 20th of March, declared war against his Britannic majesty, who answered it on the 31st; and, on the 15th of April, the French monarch signed a declaration of war against the queen



queen of Hungary ; so that an active campaign was generally expected in the Netherlands, where marshal Wade commanded the confederate forces against marshal Saxe, who commanded under the king of France. CHAP. II.

BEFORE the commencement of this campaign, the earl of Craufurd was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general ; in which character he joined the confederate army, consisting of 76,000 men, who, at the beginning of May, had formed an encampment in the neighbourhood of Brussels ; while the French monarch assembled his army in the neighbourhood of Lille, which consisted of 120,000 men, intended for the invasion of Flanders, who over-ran the whole province with a surprizing rapidity, taking Courtray, Harlebeck, Warneton, Menin, Ypres, Fort Knocque, and Furnes, without any opposition from the confederates.

HOWEVER, the progress of the French in Flanders, received as violent a check from the success of the Austrian army, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine, who had made a glorious passage over the Rhine, and, at the head of 72,000 men, rendered himself terrible to the French in Alsace ; which obliged marshal Saxe to weaken his army in Flanders, by reinforcing that commanded by marshal Coigni in Alsace : but the treaty of Frankfort, in consequence whereof his Prussian majesty invaded Bohemia, obliged prince Charles to repass the Rhine, for the security of the Austrian dominions.

By



## BOOK

## IV.

By these transactions, marshal Saxe found his army in the Netherlands reduced to 60,000 men; while the confederates were now augmented to 90,000: but, notwithstanding this superiority, the latter undertook nothing of any consequence, and terminated the campaign in a very dishonourable manner; which was principally owing to the obstinacy of the Dutch, and the dissensions among the confederate generals. An instance, that a divided command is seldom attended with success!

THE French were hurt in the former campaign through the over-active heat of youth in the duke of Grammont; and the confederates were now prejudiced by the over-cautious lingering of age in marshal Wade: but this heat of youth, and precaution of age, were so well tempered in marshal Saxe, that what Suetonius reports as excellent in Cæsar, was equally applicable to the French general, of whom "it was uncertain whether he was more cautious or daring." But neither of these attributes are simply in themselves the best attendants of noble enterprizes: for Pompey was invested with authority more for the sake of his virtue, than the vigour of his age; because he had deserved the honour of triumph before his beard had shaded him with the marks of virility; and yet Sertorius took such advantage at his youth when Pompey was sent against him into Spain, that he said, "he would have whipped the young boy back to Rome with rods,



rods, if he had not brought that old woman, Metellus, to his assistance."

CHAP.  
II.  


It is said of Marius, that being arrived to the age of threescore and five years, he shewed himself very cold and slow in all his enterprizes: because age had mortified his active heat, and killed that ready disposition of body which he had formerly exerted. This was also discovered in marshal Wade; which makes it necessary to observe, that the best state of years for a military command, is that wherein the heat of youth is tempered with the coldness of age; quickening the slow proceedings of over-cautious deliberation, with the temerity of youthful resolution: which falls out between the years of five and thirty and five and fifty.

XENOPHON, who was himself a great commander, observes, "that it is a weighty and difficult matter to support a command with credit:" to which may be added, that the Romans were so sensible this could not be done with a divided command, that upon this presumption, they created their office of dictator; whose power was so absolute, that whatever rested either in the consuls, the tribunes, the senate, or the people, gave way to the greatness of this magistrate. However, notwithstanding this absolute government, they attributed such power to the course of human actions, that, by the punishment they inflicted upon unfortunate leaders, they seemed to acknowledge, that no man, however circumspect, could promise more than the hopes or probabilities of good fortune, as far as

B b b

his



Book his abilities and industry were capable of achieving it. This  
 IV. serves to shew the different policy between the refined Romans, and the uncivilized Turks, who constantly administer the bow-string on every defeat; and before general Doxat had met his hard fate, the Austrian ministry should have considered what old Fabius said on pleading for the life of his gallant son, and opposing the rigour of Papirius, the dictator, with examples of antiquity, by alledging, "that the people, in whom the sovereign power of things consisted, never shewed greater displeasure against such as had lost an army, either by rashness or unskilfulness, than by imposing a fine upon them: but to bring the life of a general in question, for failing in his endeavours, was never heard of before." But marshal Wade adventured no hazard of this kind; in which, if he erred, he imitated the example of marshal Catinat, being an error committed through too much diffidence; which could not escape the observation of the earl of Craufurd, who took notice of it in the following manner.

"THE campaign of 1744, being ignominiously ended, the confederate troops got into their winter quarters, widely distant from those they ought to have occupied; and, by all that one could observe, designedly removed from giving the least appearance of suspicion, throughout the winter, to the enemy; though they had reason to fear the worst of consequences from the formidable army of the allies, till once the French could again be reinforced in the low countries; where, at least, so much might have been done, even at the latter end of the campaign  
 by



by the allies, as might have retarded all the enemies early progress in the spring; which is generally the thing most to be feared by the enemies of France, who have ever found the greatest difficulties to become early enough so formidable, as to frustrate such dangerous projects, as she generally sets out with on the opening of her campaigns: which disagreeable termination of the campaign, justly dissatisfied all true lovers and friends to liberty in Europe.

“ THE consideration of the enemy throughout the winter, or interrupting their progress in the spring, was not, I believe, so much as thought on by our conductors: or, if it was, such a manner of proceeding must have been designedly or dexterously avoided by them; either for their own interest, or for such political reasons, as one party or other from their respective courts furnished them with: upon which occasion our generals resorted to their respective winter quarters.

“ THE duke of Aremberg repaired to Brussels, charmed he got out of the scrape, which, from the beginning of the campaign, and even before ever prince Charles left Brussels, he declared to his friends, from the dissensions he foresaw would happen from what he had learned in London, during his stay there, was passing at the Hague, and from the disagreement he observed in councils, where even prince Charles presided, that he wished the campaign was over; for he dreaded much the confusion that three heads would create, whose



Book private instructions he feared were very different from one  
IV. another.

“FIELD-MARSHAL Wade returned to London, no less rejoiced he had got out of a command, wherein he seemed to take less delight than any general, since the beginning of time, invested with such a power. Whether his foreseeing what would happen; or imagining such things might be brought about by his partners in command, as did happen; or whether his private instructions bounded him so, that nothing noble could be undertaken; or that he knew the private instructions of the others meant nothing more than what came to pass, however willing he might be to be made active, I shall not say: but his uneasiness was very evident; and it may be supposed, that those he advised with, and confided in, magnified the discipline, courage, conduct, and numbers of his enemies; at the same time as they diminished that confidence as to all the same articles, which he otherwise might have had of the allies; I say, diminished them to such a degree, that he had not only the highest diffidence of his army, but of himself in many of those things wherein he was certainly more experienced, and which he was more capable of putting into execution, than several that were his counsellors; but, in short, he became diffident of all he had any thing to do with, the administration at home not excepted, imagining they intended to lead him into some scrape, which he should be obliged to answer for before parliament. To such a degree he allowed those jealousies to torment him; that,



that, it has been supposed, he chose to give up any sparks of CHAP.  
ambition, he had ever been endued with, to a weak indolent II.  
security; rather than run the least risque; building that secu-  
rity upon an inactivity, supposing it a certain method to please  
one side or other of the administration; which he had strong  
reasons to believe would in that case stand by him, should his  
conduct happen in the least to be called in question.

“COUNT Nassau, as soon as he was recovered of a very  
severe fit of sickness, repaired to the Hague in his way to  
England, being advised to go to Bath by his physicians; I  
believe, not a little pleased that he had so good a pretence so  
quickly to get out of the way of any examination that might  
be made into the conduct of the campaign; during which,  
he seemed from the beginning pretty determinedly for inacti-  
vity; naturally enough, a reason why Cronstrom and Ginckle  
pretended at least to be of the duke of Aremberg's faction,  
by seeming to be for fighting, as they both were aspiring at  
the command themselves, and dissatisfied at count Nassau's  
having it. They also repaired to the Hague, where they  
failed not, it may be imagined, to clear themselves of all  
blame: while our generals, both at London, and at their res-  
pective quarters, held quite a different language; whether  
with reason or not, I shall not pretend to determine: but, I  
am afraid, however the two last named generals had been  
inclined throughout the campaign, that others were charmed  
they had got into their old garrisons, instead of being in the  
way of hurting the enemy, and of making them stand in awe  
of



BOOK of us by being along their frontiers; consequently a bridle  
IV. upon their most daring dangerous projects. However, so  
situated, the best intentioned had nothing else left them to do,  
but to make the most they could of such proceedings, and  
such a situation for the good of the common cause.

“FOR which reason, on general Ligonier's arrival at  
Brussels, after quitting field-marshal Wade at Ghent as he set  
out for England, he, with the greatest frankness, and  
sincerity, being now commander in chief, offered his  
advice and concurrence in whatever might be proposed  
for the good of the common cause, either during the winter,  
or to forward preparations for the spring. At two or three  
conferences held by count Caunitz the first minister, count  
Konigseck Erps the late minister, the duke of Aremberg,  
monfieur Vander Duyn, and my self, then the only British  
general along with general Ligonier at Brussels; I can venture  
to say, that, by the frankness of these generals, transactions  
went on with all the calmness and decency that ever appeared  
on such like occasions: being very different from what hap-  
pened throughout the campaign; agreeing in their conferences  
on the representations that each individual should make at  
their courts; not only as to the situation of the country  
during the winter; but as to the magazines, and numbers of  
troops, that would also be necessary to prevent misfortunes  
through that season, and even to prevent enterprizes in the  
spring. All which, I know, general Ligonier, and, I believe,  
the



the others, represented in the strongest terms, to their different masters: but, if I do not mistake, some time before there came answers to their dispatches, general Ligonier received orders from the administration in England, to call a council of war, consisting of all the British generals, therein to take their opinions; as the French seemed again to threaten the empire, where we could easily judge the king's dominions might also be in danger: when we were to consider, whether we thought the low countries might be defended, if we detached fourteen Hanoverian squadrons and seven battalions, to join so many Dutch, who were already on their march for the same purpose. Accordingly, as most of our generals were either in Ghent, or near it, general Ligonier, after communicating his orders to the members that used to compose the conferences, chose to go to Ghent, where our generals had orders to assemble, and whither I attended him. My lord Albemarle, and, I believe, some others of them, consulted that night we arrived there, what should be their opinions the next day: but, for my part, I had the misfortune not to be with them; and, as it was the first council I had ever assisted in, I cannot say, but I was in some sort of concern how I should deliver my opinion: however, being pretty much determined what it should be; and, as it might be but seldom I should have such an opportunity of delivering my sentiments, I thought it would not be the worst way, not only to be pretty much master of what I should say, if to be delivered in words; but also, in case it should be given in writing, to consider it as thoroughly as the time would permit; the council being



BOOK being to assemble the next morning at ten o'clock: where,  
 IV. at the appointed time, the generals met; and most of them  
 voted for the march of the troops. For my part, though  
 not my turn to give my opinion first, as the generals Churchill,  
 Skelton, and Ingoldsbey, were younger than me; yet, they  
 excused themselves, as they had never had such a call before,  
 saying, "they would be glad to hear the opinion of some  
 others before them;" thereby it coming to my turn, though  
 I had rather chose to have followed them, I did not scruple to  
 give my opinion; being, as I imagined, in some measure pre-  
 pared: therefore, asking general Ligonier whether I should  
 give it him, by word of mouth, or in writing? he chose, as  
 my lord Albemarle, my lord Rothes, and himself had pre-  
 pared theirs in writing, to have mine also in the same manner:  
 I, accordingly, gave it to the secretary of the council to read;  
 being as follows.

GHEENT, December 12, 1744.

"**A**Lthough it is scarcely possible for me, considering the  
 number of troops the French may have without my  
 knowledge in the large and strong fortresses that lie along the  
 frontiers of this country, to determine, that either the low  
 countries, or the communication between Great Britain and  
 her troops in those parts, are absolutely out of all hazard;  
 yet, I am of opinion, that a body of seven battalions, and  
 fifteen squadrons of Hanoverians, may instantly march to  
 their proper places of destination upon the lower Rhine:  
 imagining,



imagining, in the mean time, from all as yet I can see, our-CHAP. selves capable of still defending our winter quarters; as it is II. not practicable for France, in reality, to have a superiority of force every where. But, I am the rather induced to be of the above opinion; as, with terror, I view the dangers there may arise in allowing her to make all the progress she seems to propose to herself in the heart of the empire, as well as upon the lower Rhine; where her success, at the long run, may be attended with as dangerous consequences, as if towards these quarters: because it may be more rapid, from the few, or no fortified places, she has there to meet with: for these reasons, I, therefore, the rather would permit the said troops to march, as I make no doubt, but the prudence of their high mightinesses will lose no time in replacing them, if they were but the seven battalions only, on their thoroughly considering how few forces there are in these low countries, not only to secure them from their being suddenly over-run by an insatiable enemy; but also to secure, that important point, the communication with England, from whence the British troops must be recruited both with men and horses, in order to render the army in Flanders capable of giving that suitable diversion necessary to restrain the enemy from sending a superiority of force, which they might otherwise convey into the empire, as well as down upon the lower Rhine, to prosecute their further dangerous designs. Besides, the army of the allies on the lower Rhine may also, by proper motions, contribute to the prevention of any dark designs towards these quarters on the continent, as well as on the island of Great



BOOK Britain: provided that right understanding, which ought to  
 IV. subsist, be maintained between the two armies of the allies,  
 till it is thought proper to join both, or most of both, under  
 one head, fully impowered to move the said body in such a  
 shape, almost certain of success, towards those quarters where  
 it shall be thought most beneficial for the common cause,  
 which is by no means so securely to be defended, and secured  
 with dignity, as by a right understanding between the con-  
 ductors of the two confederate armies, who ought to have  
 full powers given them; and, who, by their proper move-  
 ments, may, and ought, mutually to defend one another;  
 which if they do, with safety I may say, they will prevent  
 great evils, that may otherwise happen this winter, or next  
 spring: but which they can never thoroughly effectuate, with-  
 out they are rendered capable of being active, by either having  
 magazines, not only forward, but even not far distant from  
 the frontiers of the enemy; or by their generals being im-  
 powered to make, by their contracts, their undertakers carry  
 and form their magazines wherever they find their armies can  
 be most properly and usefully employed; which, if forward,  
 and on the enemies frontiers, will, in my opinion, effectually  
 prevent either incursion or invasion."

"ON the determination of this important affair, I accom-  
 panied general Ligonier in his return to Brussels; from whence  
 he transmitted the said resolutions to the administration in  
 England; by this time entirely changed.

"FROM



“FROM the present situation of the low countries, it is easy to believe, that the generals who made such remonstrations, and shewed the necessity of such a number of troops more than were left there, did not fail also to set forth how requisite it would be to have early preparations for their sustenance; to which article, both monsieur Vander Duyn and general Ligonier had most satisfactory answers, and accordingly gave their orders to the contractors for very considerable magazines to be established at the most proper places: thus general Ligonier ordered there should be one of three hundred thousand rations at Ghent; two hundred thousand at Oudenarde, and one hundred thousand at Tournay; besides instructing the contractors to agree for a considerable quantity more, in case required. Monsieur Vander Duyn established his magazines at Mons, Tournay, and Charleroy. To be sure, our magazines were never so forward at the beginning of any campaign as this; and, had but all other dispositions requisite been as early in readiness, we might, for once, expected to have been before the enemy in the field; which one would have imagined, if ever it could have been brought about, might have been this ensuing spring by the death of the emperor, which fell out more apropos for the house of Austria, than ever any event that has yet happened: and she has had many turn out, as one would imagine, for no other end than to save her from perdition.”



## C H A P. III.

The earl of Craufurd's remarks on the opening of the campaign in 1745 ; and his account of the battle of Fontenoy : with the consequences of that battle.

BOOK  
IV.

**A**S the French, during the winter, were making the necessary preparations for taking the field in the Netherlands with a very formidable army ; the confederates found it absolutely necessary to pitch upon commanders, who were immediately to repair to the Hague to settle the plan of operations ; which gave the earl of Craufurd an opportunity of making the following remarks on the opening of the campaign, and the battle of Fontenoy.

“IN England, field-marshal Wade had resigned the command of the army, either by choice, or necessity, when no man seemed to stand so fair a chance of succeeding him, as marshal Stair : however, the queen of Hungary having declared count Konigseck, and the Dutch the prince of Waldeck ; and marshal Konigseck being an older field-marshal than the earl of Stair, it has been said, his lordship would not accept of the command ; and that, therefore, his majesty determined that



that his royal highness the duke of Cumberland should head CHAP.  
the forces, under the title of captain general in chief. It was III.  
to be wished each of the parties concerned, had then also  
determined an addition of five thousand infantry to each of  
their contingents of troops that were to take the field; for it  
seems to me odd it did not occur to them; and yet it is im-  
possible but it must; for it is not to be imagined, reasonable  
people could suppose a fewer number added to what they knew  
was already destined for the service in Flanders, would defeat  
the projects, and resist the army, which it might be depended  
upon a king of France, with a count de Saxe, would enter  
with into that country: and it was as odd, our chiefs did not  
list upon it, when they came to the Hague.

“THE spring coming on, consequently the campaigning  
season drawing near, the face of affairs began to take a war-  
like appearance in the low countries. Field-marshal Konigseck  
arrived at Brussels from the Hague about the 1st of April;  
being soon followed by the prince of Waldeck, and general  
Ligonier; who were joined by his royal highness the duke of  
Cumberland on the 10th. But, before the arrival of his royal  
highness, the field-marshal Konigseck thought proper to  
assemble a sort of council, conference, or what you please to  
call it, of all the generals that were then at Brussels, whereof  
I had the honour to be the only brigadier; the others being  
the prince of Waldeck, lieutenant-general Ligonier, and  
lieutenant-general Vander Duyn. The field-marshal opened  
this conference, with such judicious questions as might be  
expected



BOOK expected from so experienced an officer; such as in relation  
IV. to the number of troops each party concerned had in the low countries? How many battalions and squadrons each could carry into the field? If they expected to be joined by any more; and whether before the army took the field, or during the campaign? If the regiments were compleat: if they were not so, how many they wanted; and how soon they expected their recruits? --- And how soon all their camp necessaries would be in such readiness, as that their respective corps would take the field? --- How many had been last campaign left in such and such garrisons; and how many would be necessary this? --- If the army should begin the campaign by taking up such and such a camp, as the enemy seemed to point their designs towards such and such quarters; or whether we were of a different opinion, or if we had other intelligence than what he laid before us? Whether the army should assemble on Cambroon, or Leuse camp; or whether mostly at Anderlecht, and so march from thence, to either of those camps, as judged most proper; which was agreed to be the most prudent place of rendezvous? Then he proceeded to enquire, where our magazines were situated; how much forage they contained; and whether they could be easily transported to the said camps; as also by what method, by water or land carriage: whether if we marched to the camps before-mentioned, it would not be absolutely necessary, to have a flying army along the canal, between Ghent and Bruges? How many we thought we could spare for that purpose? And whether it would not be necessary, the generals, and he also, should write to their constituents, that so many troops



troops could be only detached from our army for that end; CHAP. III.  
and that it would be absolutely necessary they reinforced that  
corps with others out of their respective countries, or from  
whence they best could find them: proceeding to let us know,  
that there was now no time to be lost; that if we unexpect-  
edly could get earlier into the field than the enemy imagined  
we could contrive, or than we were accustomed to do, we  
might possibly catch them before they had got all their troops  
up: but, if we lingered till all their forces were joined, they  
would become so far superior to our army, that it would be  
impossible for us to act otherwise than on the defensive, till  
the end of the campaign, unless we were reinforced; which  
we judged to be a very just way of reasoning, so far as we  
could yet determine, from the intelligence we had, and the  
appearance affairs at present seemed to have; therefore, we  
unanimously agreed the whole army should make ready to take  
the field such a day, if approved of by his royal highness the  
duke of Cumberland, who we knew would arrive in a few  
days.

“ DURING the time all these things were reasoned upon,  
rough sketches and computations being made of every parti-  
cular; lieutenant-general Ligonier undertook to make his  
secretary draw out a clear copy of the most of what had been  
computed in relation to the number of troops that would be  
absolutely necessary to be left in garrison; how many would  
be requisite upon the canal, and the number afterwards that  
would remain to compose our grand army; which, if compleat,  
should



BOOK should have been 17,886 men to remain in garrison; but, IV. according to the supposed list, they amounted to only 15,058; the detachment upon the canal should have been 7495, but they were set down as only 6150 compleat; and the grand army, if compleat, should have been composed of 51,660 men; but these were set down at 43,450.

“THUS the most essential preliminaries towards taking the field being settled, in at least a sort of conference, if not a council of war; all became curious to know the result of it; and, I doubt not, the enemy, with success more so, than any; though I scarcely believe they found out the real number we should be able to bring into the field: but as to near the time, I am afraid, that became too soon in the mouths of every body, the enemy as well profiting of it: for we quickly heard of a considerable corps of theirs approaching Mons, venturing even so far on the Brussels side of it, that the garrison thought proper to seem as if they would disturb their rear; which, with other motions that were made, and as the enemy's whole design was only to cover, for a little time, their real intentions of besieging Tournay, they judged it best to retire towards Cambroon, and so towards Maubeuge, and those quarters where they remained, as they did not intend to run any risque; till, at last, we heard, they had, in reality, invested Tournay, a few days before our determined day for taking the field; which was extreme agreeable tidings to both his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, and the field-marshal, who frequently had been heard to say, he would give a hundred



a hundred ducats to hear they had attached themselves either to CHAP.  
Monsor Tournay: whereupon orders were issued out for the army III.  
holding themselves in readiness to march without fail on the  
19th of April; when they decamped from Anderlecht, and  
encamped before Hall, about three leagues from Brussels,  
where they were joined by part of the garrison of Namur.  
On the 22d, they encamped at Soignies; from whence they  
decamped on the 24th, and encamped on the plains of Cam-  
brook, from whence a party was sent to dispossess the French  
from Leuse, who immediately retired; but their abandoning  
this post so abruptly, was a disappointment to his royal high-  
ness and the field-marshal; because, I believe, they had al-  
ways determined to attack towards the ground we at last did  
upon; and that they, therefore, would have inclined to have  
amused them as long as possible towards Leuse; though, I am  
afraid, the enemy was too quickly informed of our real inten-  
tions, by their being so well prepared to receive us: for I have  
been informed, by people among themselves, they had no no-  
tion we would attack them towards those quarters, till the  
morning our march plainly demonstrated it to them; judging  
the approach on that side so strong, that we durst never ven-  
ture it; but where, if we ever came, they were determined  
to stand: mons. de Saxe assuring the king, if his army could  
not stand us there, after he had time to fortify himself, he  
might carry them back to Paris, for they would stand us no  
where.

D d d ON



## BOOK

## IV.

ON the 26th, the army decamped from Cambroon, in order of battle, the whole making a most warlike appearance, which was a good deal owing to his royal highness's strict discipline, and obliging every officer to keep at their post, due distance from their leaders, and no baggage or wheel carriages to be mixed with the troops: which was extremely necessary, as we began to approach a very vigilant general; for, not being able to say so much for his troops, makes me particularize the general, whereon every thing depends with the French, whose youth are generally as remiss in all parts of discipline, barring bravery, as their old people are precautions.

“ ON the 27th, the same orders for the army's holding in readiness to march at a moment's warning were repeated: but, I was sorry it either became so quickly publick we were to march to-morrow, or to be a question whether it might not be by the left rather than the right; because, though I believe the enemy were by no means thoroughly informed of it; yet we might, without any inconveniency to our army, been much longer in doubt; consequently, with more reason, the enemy so; by making our right wing of cavalry, who could not fail, as they were to make the rear, having a great many halts; during which time, they could easily regain any ground they might lose, by being ordered to defile after our avant-guard for a little way towards Leuse, then suddenly change their route, and take a shorter one than the army, which unquestionably they might have done, or followed the army if that



that was not thought proper; which, without order to march CHAP. III.  
 by the left, we might have done, had it been ordered that  
 no corps should stir till they saw that upon the right or left  
 move off their ground, taking care to instruct the command-  
 ing officer only on the right of all the infantry, that he  
 should not mind the cavalry of the right wing, who were  
 to make the false motion; but that he would have orders to  
 move when proper, which might have been always seasonably  
 enough sent to him.

“On the 28th, about six in the morning, the whole  
 army decamped in two columns marching by the left; when  
 there happened numberless halts from the roads scarcely being  
 passable for the head of our columns; which had not met  
 with this interruption if the roads had been as carefully mended  
 as they were the last marching day, and which should have  
 been done at whatsoever pains and expence they might have  
 cost; when the head of our columns would not have been  
 exposed to an affront, had the enemy been daring or enter-  
 prizing enough to do it; its not happening being no excuse;  
 and our march, that lasted till six o'clock at night, might  
 have been over by twelve at noon, without confusion; conse-  
 quently, early enough to be within reach of taking an advan-  
 tage of the enemy's surprize; who ought to have been im-  
 mediately reconnoitred, and not before the army was aportée  
 of pushing any advantage, our generals might have judged  
 practicable over the enemy; which, by neglecting the roads,  
 was not only irretrievably lost, but leisure thereby allowed the



Book enemy to recover the consternation that might arise among  
 IVI their troops, and to take all the advantages they now, with  
 their eyes open, could foresee necessary; while we, by not  
 being able to be up with the enemy this evening, lost all the  
 advantage which we ever could gain from the motion we  
 made: I mean, in case we intended to raise the siege by  
 hazarding a battle this day, if a thing not to be done with-  
 out a battle, and for which purpose our motion was far from  
 being improper: because from Breffle, where our head quar-  
 ters came to be established, we had it in our power daily  
 extremely to disturb the enemy, and even to oblige them to  
 detach to cover their own frontiers; which corps, if ever  
 overtaken and defeated, would have raised the siege as effec-  
 tually as if we gained a general battle: but unquestionably  
 there could be nothing so effectual, not only to serve the pre-  
 sent purpose in raising the siege, and interrupt the enemy's  
 after-game, as gaining a battle, or making them at least re-  
 cross the river. It was about six o'clock at night before our  
 army arrived in camp, and very late, if not early, before  
 our baggage got up; after being exposed prodigiously before  
 it marched off from our ground near Leuse, had five hundred  
 grailins, with uhlands, and some hussars, thought proper to  
 have been watching our rear: however, it got up safe, as  
 also our bread waggons, who thought proper inadvertently to  
 pass the whole night at Leuse.

On the 29th, early in the morning, both prince Waldeck  
 and the field-marshal attended the duke in conference; who,  
 when



when I waited upon him between eight and nine, asked if I knew that I was ordered out upon a command? I told his royal highness, I did; having just met general Campbell as I was coming, under whose command I was to be soon. After this, I took leave of his royal highness, and went to get myself in readiness, which was quickly done, when I set out for general Campbell's; where, soon after, my lord Albemarle, who was to be our major-general of the command, also arrived; when the general told us, his royal highness had done him the honour to give him a very noble command; that he would endeavour to do his utmost with it, and was charmed he was so fortunate as to have us to command under him: adding, that our command was to be composed of twelve squadrons, and ten battalions, from the right wing; that there was to be so many from the left to be detached by prince Waldeck, to be sustained by the whole army if requisite, which was ordered to lie under arms; that the Dutch, I think he said, were to clear all the woods and the villages in the front between us and the enemy; and that we were to do the same; that it possibly would be warm work, but that he did not doubt we would all do our duty. My lord Albemarle went and got himself ready, while I breakfasted with the general; after which, we mounted, and repaired to the head of the line, where we found the duke before us with the field-marshal. It was a fine day; and, after having received the duke's final orders, immediately the infantry was ordered to march off from the right, though the left was much nearer the defile we were to march through: the cavalry was ordered to



BOOK IV. to fall in the rear of the last battalion: so continuing our route, we passed our avant-guard, which was also under arms as far as the high ground overlooking Vefont. The Dutch to our left, exchanged a little fire, I believe, as I have heard since, more than was necessary in making the enemy retire out of one of the villages; which, according to their laudable custom, without any manner of reason, they set fire to, as they retired, so abandoning all the villages and woods along the rivulet to Vefont; while we were as quickly occupying them, and advancing our posts from them. The Dutch placing themselves almost opposite to St. Antoine, and the village Maubray, and up as far as opposite to Fontenoy; we from thence, came up to Vefont, and all along the valley from the said village, leading through the edge of the Bois-de-Barry. The duke and the field-marshal being present; as was the prince of Waldeck with the Dutch; who gave the orders they thought necessary, as soon as both infantry and cavalry were ranged; where there were some hussars permitted to go and skirmish in the plain between Fontenoy and the woods we now occupied. The Highland regiment was ordered from the avant-guard to Vefont, and the duke, the field-marshal, and prince Waldeck, under their cover went and reconnoitered as far as with any safety they could do it; because of the grasshoppers, who concealed themselves in the corn. Our hussars drew some cannon shot from Fontenoy, and drew out a corps of the enemy's cavalry upon the rising ground between Fontenoy and the point of the Bois-de-Barry; which our chiefs observing, and as the enemy still kept under the cover of



of their rising ground, parading less then I ever saw them on CHAP.  
any occasion, they returned again through the village of III.  
Vesont by a rising ground that overlooked both the village and   
plain; determining, and I believe not till now, that nothing  
further should be attempted this night: but that the detach-  
ment of Dutch towards their quarter, should maintain all  
night their posts; and that general Campbell with his, should  
maintain those of Vesont, now being reinforced with the  
Highlanders which were posted with the queen's free company  
along the outward edge of the village towards the enemy.  
We had several deserters who informed us the enemy, by this  
time, were hurrying over as many troops as they could from  
the other side of the water, and were making all the prepa-  
rations necessary to receive us handsomely: and, indeed, they  
spoke truth for once; because, by this time, and I suppose  
long before, it had been determined they would stand us at  
all hazards; observing, by the few troops that approached  
them this evening, they would have yet all this night to  
prepare for us: but I know not what they might have done  
during this night, had our whole army boiled the pots and  
dined early and well, to have afterwards marched and taken  
up our ground, while we were defileing along the valley of  
Vesont, so along the edge through the Bois-de-Barry, with  
orders to attack every thing that presented itself in our way;  
and, wherever we met with paths, to have extended ourselves  
through the woods, so as to get up to the edge of the point  
of it, where we had intelligence they were building their  
forts; and even further a good way to the right hand towards  
the



BOOK the Cauffee de Leuse, in order to have a body of at least four  
IV. or five battalions, as far as the edge of the wood, in order to  
come round and take any troops in flank, that should pretend to take in flank our first line, as it should advance past Fontenoy, and the point of the wood; at the very same instant also attacking the fort, all this considering the strong situation of the enemy to be rather done in the evening, throughout the night, or at least before the break of day; when all our whole army ought to have been formed, at least as far advanced as the edge of the wood, extending into the plain; while the others might only keep possession of the Bois-de-Barry, 'till it should have been thought proper to attack; which makes it a question, whether there would have been a Frenchman on our side of the river in the morning; because, they confessed themselves, that if we could have done this the night before, they would not have withstood us. But I ever imagined, had we done so this night, it might have also happened; because, if during the night it had been thought proper to make any push, and that upon it there had happened any confusion among the French, it would have been very difficult to have rallied those gentlemen, who knew they were got near a bridge, and were sensible, that, if they missed it, they must sink or swim. Their minds were likewise very differently affected from ours; considering we were sole masters either to attack, or not, as we judged convenient; but that they were obliged to be on the defensive, without the least prospect of attacking, of which we were almost as certain as they; who must have  
been



been startled at hearing of a sort of attack in the night, which the attackers know they can make without risking any thing; but which the defenders cannot judge whether it is the beginning of a general assault or not; so that confusion must happen unavoidably more or less upon one side as well as the other: but, as it is much more dangerous for those who know they are only to defend, it becomes more eligible for the attacker to make all the trial, and take all the advantages of the night, which, to be sure, is expressly on the assaulters side, if thoroughly instructed what they are to do, and what is to be done, that the others may yet be surprized: for though a man knows he will defend very well where he is, he is not sure his retreat may not be cut off, particularly when it is over a river, and only by so many bridges. Variety of other reasons may be advanced; but all this assertion is in order to come to a political one, which I really believe influenced in our favour. Every body knows that marshal Saxe was no ways desirous of hazarding any thing, and that he wanted only a handle to bring about his ends, which, I doubt not, he thought was as much for the interest of his master, as hazarding his whole country to be ravaged in case he lost a battle upon the present occasion: besides, we all naturally imagine our own projects best: but, as he only wanted a handle, a very small confusion in the night time, with numbers to support it, could not have failed of alarming so young a warrior of a king, unacquainted with night attacks, which appear of all the most dreadful, though the least so if well conducted; which might have easily so



BOOK influenced the king, as to make him rather retire in the night  
IV. over the river, and in a manner to save his honour, than  
to hazard any thing either throughout the night, or in the  
morning.

“ His royal highness, and the field-marshal, retired to their quarters, to give their necessary orders for the army's joining us early next morning: but, I could not refrain mentioning to the field-marshal, as I took leave of him, that it would not only be necessary, but it would turn out well, to have the Bois-de-Barry, as it were, a line with the infantry before morning: he answered me, if we had them to spare; but that he would think upon it: with which I wished him a good night, and desired his aid de camp to put him in mind of it; because, I could foresee it would be of great consequence. Our general being left to his own management, the first thing he proposed to my lord Albemarle, after ordering all the cavalry to dismount, and the infantry to lie down upon their arms, was to go and reconnoitre all our own posts; which we did; altering some, and posting others under the popping shots of some grassins, who continued skirmishing with some Highlanders and hussars the whole afternoon. About the time we were reconnoitering, an advanced Highlander observed a grassin always firing at his post; wherefore, he set his bonnet upon the top of a little stick, on the edge of a hollow road we made them lurk in, moving a little forward, thereby gaining the more at his leisure the opportunity of aiming at the grassin, who amused himself



himself still with popping at the Highlander's bonnet he had left behind him as a blind; but which the grassin not finding out, gave the Highlander so far an opportunity that he brought him down. CHAP. III.

“THE roads by which the army were obliged to enter the plain, were to have been mended, and I may say rendered practicable, by five hundred pioneers, who were ordered the same day to march with this detachment; but who, by what accident I could never learn, were sent back to camp: so that there remained only about fifteen or twenty, which I desired adjutant-general Durour to send me to keep with my cavalry, and whom I made perform, by giving a couple of ducats, all the work that was done that night, sending some of them to brigadier Borllegar where I found the others were gone, which our general was extremely angry at; because, had there been a thousand, and we had considered what we were going about, there would have been work enough for them, considering the number of fascines we ought to have had ready. By the time the general had compleated his rounds, it began to be duskish, and consequently time for us to look out for our quarters, which we took up in the village of Vefont; the general inviting my lord Albemarle and me to sup with him; which, after regulating our quarters, we accordingly did in great tranquility; neither towards the Dutch, nor our posts, hearing any disturbance; only one post, which was thought proper to be left without on the edge of the plain, was obliged to retire, as I foretold it would,



BOOK on account that the grassins during the night-time contrived  
IV. to crawl too near them, and on horseback they were too considerable objects; wherefore, they were ordered to maintain a post, not far from that in the edge of the wood, that had much the same effect. Our supper ended with the village of Vefont being set on fire by our own people; though the strictest orders had been given to the contrary: however, by the care of the general and lord Albemarle, it was stopt from burning any more than two houses. During supper, my lord Albemarle and I agreed we should by turns reconnoitre our posts, which we accordingly did; his lordship between twelve and one in the morning, and I between two and three. While my lord was going out to make his round, there was an alarm given, at one of our advanced posts of Highlanders by some grassins, near to where our hussars had been; but they soon made off when they found they were pursued. While I made my round of both posts and workmen, and during the rest of the night, there happened no disturbance as far as I could hear; and the night was so extremely quiet, that I could not help wishing our whole army had been just at that moment marching to the attack: it was so calm, that it was possible to hear, at a very great distance; insomuch, that some patrols of the Highlanders and free company, affirmed that they heard the enemy working at their forts, and I believe they did: however, as there was no order to disturb them, both officers and troops were permitted to take as much rest as possible; which we accordingly did, till about four o'clock, when the duke arrived; it being resolved to attack the



the enemy this morning; for which purpose, the troops were in motion at two, and his royal highness ordered general Campbell, with his twelve squadrons, to defile through Vefont, and to enter the plain; leaving the highway and the inclosures before Vefont to our right-hand; but what other directions he gave, I know not: however, we past through the town with as much expedition as possible, forming as quickly to the left of the village, under the cover of some hedge-rows, till all the twelve squadrons were got into the field; while a line of Dutch infantry moved a little forward into the plain, and made place for the cavalry to form in their rear; the Dutch giving ground to their right, consequently closing more to their left towards Fontenoy and St. Antoine, in order to make place for our infantry, now entering into the plain, and forming in the front of the before-mentioned twelve squadrons; who, from their entry into the plain before five of the clock, had stood upwards of an hour under a constant cannonade of three batteries, when the infantry began to take their share of it, by drawing some of the batteries upon them as they formed with their left towards Fontenoy, and their right towards the Bois-de-Barry, filling up the whole interval. It is inconceivable what a number of bullets plunged in among us, while our first line and cavalry were forming; and as inconceivable how undauntedly they stood. Lieutenant-general Ligonier, an extreme good officer, formed the foot; and, on our entry, lieutenant-general Campbell the twelve squadrons, which were for a considerable time all the cavalry we had up. But unhappily, and which

CHAP. III.

is



BOOK is ever to be regretted, general Campbell had his leg shot off  
IV. at the head of his squadrons, which obliged him to be carried off  
the field, and occasioned his death in two days. I am of opinion,  
by hints I heard him give, that, if he could have remained in the  
field, he would have distinguished himself this day; and heaven  
knows what turn he might have given to affairs! but the same  
decree which determined we should lose the battle, likewise  
determined that he should be no more to prevent its being so.  
After his death, the command of the twelve squadrons devolved  
upon me; and I accordingly compleated the general's inten-  
tions in forming them in the rear of the second line, taking  
up as much ground as I could till other cavalry came in, which  
happened between eight and nine, when the command of our  
whole cavalry of the right wing devolved upon lieutenant-ge-  
neral Hawley, who immediately made the whole cavalry take  
up their ground according to their rank in line of battle, which  
we had just finished as our two lines of infantry got forward  
and began to march up the high ground, where we at the be-  
ginning had been so prodigiously cannonaded from the batte-  
ries, but which were surprizingly silenced by three pieces of  
our cannon only, brought into the plain and placed to the  
right of the road from Vefont: they likewise pretty early dis-  
persed a body of cavalry, that, all the day before, and this  
morning, stood formed about half way between Fontenoy and  
the point of the wood, as if it had been their grand guard.

“ His royal highness entered the plain between five and six  
o'clock, and immediately went to brigadier Ingoldsby, to see  
for



for what reason he had not moved up towards the point of the wood. The presence of his royal highness contributed not a little to make our people despise the severe cannonading they were obliged to form under. The field-marshal, and also prince Waldeck, entered the plain much about the same time as his royal highness, with an unconcerned appearance; encouraging all that saw them to follow their example. The duke and general Ligonier ordered several batteries to be erected along the front of the first line, during their forming, which encouraged and gave great spirits to our people, as they certainly so long as they had any ammunition played with great success upon the enemy. The same was done before the Dutch; but, I believe, heard with very little effect; their bullets falling mostly short, particularly the battery that ought to have played on Fontenoy did no service; however, they served to cover and animate their troops as they formed, stretching themselves away down towards St. Antoine opposite to Fontenoy, where it was agreed their most considerable effort should be made: but unluckily, I think; because we might be certain the enemy had been at great pains about it, and where of consequence the best of their infantry were; so that one might foresee the Dutch run a risk of being repulsed: however, so it was determined; and about eleven o'clock so it fell out; for, finding they could not run into Fontenoy, as they had done into Maubray the evening before, they faced to the right about, and I never in my life time saw such a confusion: though, I can't say, it had a great influence upon me, affairs went so well with us, and I laid so little stress



Bookstrels upon them: however, they left a general in the village,  
 IV. and a few more killed behind them; which ended their first  
 attack upon Fontenoy; where, I have heard since, that  
 marshal Saxe had sent a general officer to the church, who  
 reconnoitered both Dutch and English, and every motion  
 that was made, from the top of the spire with a spying glass;  
 whence, to be sure, he could give very salutary advice if he  
 was an intelligent man, and no doubt monsieur de Saxe would  
 place no other there.

“THIS deroute of the Dutch, had an extreme bad effect  
 upon the minds of the troops in general, though not so much  
 upon ours; who, after they were first ranged, and still in  
 march towards the enemy, (THE NOBLEST SIGHT I EVER  
 BEHELD!) never stopt till they had got through a shower of  
 bullets, and musketry; till, at last, our first line got past  
 Fontenoy, and the redoubts at the point of the wood,  
 within thirty yards of the first line of French infantry, which  
 our first line, with his royal highness at their head, threw  
 into confusion entirely: our troops receiving the fire of the  
 enemy at thirty yards distance; which made, I suppose, one  
 of our foot-guards say, observing all the enemy's motions go  
 on with great regularity, “for what we are about to receive,  
 the lord make us thankful.”

“IT is certain the whole line of the enemy fell into the  
 greatest confusion; and, had only some battalions out of our  
 second line been led up to replace the battalions that had  
 suffered



suffered most; or had it given way a little to our first, and CHAP.  
that the rest of the second line had advanced only so far as to III.  
have allowed the whole two lines of cavalry to get with their  
flanks past the fort, consequently from under the fire of  
Fontenoy, as well as that of the fort; it would have been  
impossible for marshal Saxe even to have rallied his people  
again, especially as general Zastrow had thrown into confu-  
sion their best troops about the fort, who ought to have been  
taken in flank by the troops I would have had along the edge  
of the wood towards the Cauffee de Leuse; where, it is true,  
prince Waldeck's regiment, with some hussars, continued to  
get in the morning; and who ought to have been reinforced  
with as many troops as we could send there; because, in  
short, from thence we could have won the battle; but, instead  
of being reinforced, they were called off, on the Dutch run-  
ning away, to go and attack the village of Fontenoy with  
the Highlanders; which I look upon to be the wrongest  
thing that was thought of throughout the day, excepting a  
motion that was ordered to be made by our cavalry to the  
right, a-cross almost an unpassable hollow way, which  
threw all that were obliged to pass into the greatest confusion;  
and for no end or purpose, that I could ever learn, if it was  
not to get our right flank under the cover of the Bois-de-  
Barry, which the duke very judiciously prevented, though he  
could not the confusion: but this, I may say, was the first  
thing that put a stop to our career; for it was just as we  
were advancing; and, I believe, there were some that would  
have rode over the second line, had they not moved forward



BOOK as they observed the success of the first, and that it, as well  
 IV. as Zastrow, wanted to be sustained: besides, it plainly ap-  
 ~~~~~ pearing that both Fontenoy and the fort might have their  
 communication cut off from their army, if we made our push
 good; and if we made it not, as neither fort nor village was
 taken, nothing else could ensue but what happened: though,
 had we pushed forward with regularity, as we really got drest
 after our first confusion while the enemy was running away;
 its my real opinion, there were orders once issued out for their
 army to retire; and if the signal of retreat had been given, it
 could never have been recalled.

“ HOWEVER, our first line not finding themselves sustained,
 were discouraged; though they were regiments whose officers
 had already said we have got the day, and returned them
 thanks for their behaviour, on seeing a first line throw away
 their fire and run away, a second line present themselves and
 throw away their fire, and not only run away but disappear;
 for that now they had little more to do, the troops all before
 being in confusion: but, alas! no fresh corps led up to their
 relief; no fresh orders what they should do further; no ca-
 valry within reach of them to keep up the panic that at
 first the enemy were struck with; no appearance of the
 Dutch forcing towards any quarter; no appearance of the
 garrison of Tournay causing any disturbance; no appearance
 of any attempt from the Bois-de-Barry, and from the Cauffee
 de Leuse upon the enemy's left, where there were some of
 their best troops ready to rush in upon our right if Zastrow
 gave

gave way; no appearance of our attempt upon St. Antoine, CHAP. III.
was it only to restrain them from drawing their troops from thence to animate the others to rally, whom we had already dispersed: I may say, no favourable circumstances at all declaring themselves in our favour, it became impossible for broken corps, who had lost their generals, most of their officers, and at least one third of their men, without being sustained, and cherished by fresh leaders, as well as fresh corps, to support the repeated efforts of fresh troops, as well as those rallied willingly under the eye of their king, the fresh to distinguish themselves, and the rallied to retrieve the reputation they had hazarded, each being easily conceived to be doubly more desperate, and animated, than they had been at the beginning; cavalry, as well as infantry, renewing their assaults from the corps before-mentioned upon our right as well as left; though as often repulsed on all sides, but more particularly by general Zastrow upon our right flank, and the first regiment of foot-guards upon the right of the first line, whose behaviour, officers as well as men, exceeded all description; but, at last, were obliged to submit to what fate had decreed; though there were, at last, a few squadrons that got up and past the fort through a dreadful fire, and a few of some other broken corps as they got rallied after passing the before-mentioned hollow way, as far, as I believe at least, to be serviceable in facilitating the retreat of our infantry. Most advanced, there were two squadrons of the blues, some of the Hanoverians, and a few of the Dutch and Austrians, that were of our corps de reserve: these likewise, I believe,

BOOK had not been broke by passing the before-said hollow way;
IV. because most of those that passed it had only got rallied,
as most of those that had advanced were coming back again
in much greater haste than they went forward, breaking several
of our corps that were rallied, so as never to recover again;
and who, I am afraid, mostly went away with them. Without
prejudice, I declare, I write, that I have too great reason to
say, the Dutch dragoons led the way; for I never had a
greater risk than in being run over by them; and, had not
my horse been of prodigious strength, I must have unavoida-
bly been trampled to death. I had just rallied the brigade of
horse-guards, and was moving forward, finding there was
cavalry got on by the flank of the second line which had now
lost some battalions that were carried elsewhere, as they came
back upon us and broke us a-new. However, with the assis-
tance of my officers, who were certainly very alert, and very
willing, I had just got them a third time rallied, as all the
cavalry that had been made to move forwards were coming
back in confusion: those that I saw return in best order, being
the two squadrons of the blues, whom I begged to halt and
rally by my horse-guards; but all those that attacked together,
I believe, also rallied together: it was impossible better could
come of such a manœuvre, which was far from being a proper
one, by the marching, or allowing those squadrons to advance,
and to beat by detail, if the retreat was not determined before
they were allowed to do so: because, there were not numbers
enough together to withstand any corps of the enemies cavalry,
who would hazard any thing with them: besides, that it was
impossible

impossible for separate squadrons, not to call them broke, to CHAP. III.
hurry on, with spirit, and to have that steadiness to
stand long enough under the innumerable dropping shots,
that I may avoid being called a gascon, by terming it a con-
stant fire, that filled the plain from the croud of broken troops
belonging to the enemy that covered their part of the plain;
who, I believe, were not regularly rallied till we quitted it;
and who even would never have been rallied, had we, instead
of cavalry by squadrons, sent forward our second line, making
it to advance with intervals to let the broken battalions of the
first fall back into the intervals of the lines of cavalry; for
by this way, they would have been able to sustain our new first
line: which, I durst lay my life, all impartial people of the
enemy's own army will allow would have been more
than sufficient to beat their confused army, and the five
or six battalions conducted by count Lowendahl, that,
as the French themselves gave out, recovered the day during
the last half hour; which count Lowendahl obtained by
representing to marshal Saxe that the Dutch did nothing,
and that he would bring up all the battalions that were in
St. Antoine; upon which representations, the king, during
the last half hour, allowed the count de Saxe to make
his last effort; which still, without providence in his favour, he
could not have successfully done even as affairs were managed.
For two Swiss officers in the French army, and who had been
at the battle, told one monsieur de Camp at Argen, that, to
show what accidents are in gaining a battle, they could assure
him it was affirmed in the French army, that had not the
officer

BOOK officer who was sent to set the windmill on fire, which was
IV. the signal of retreat, neglected to do it; they would certainly
have left us masters of the field: for that this officer either
hearkened to the prayers of the men, women, and children the
windmill belonged to, because there might be no occasion to
do it; or else he was induced so to do from some favourable
appearance at that very moment, and being an intelligent man
might become the instrument of gaining a battle, which a per-
son with less prudence might have thrown away; for if once
the windmill had been set on fire, it would have happened
with the French as with us; there would have been no pro-
bability of stopping an army that had once got the signal of
retreat, as ours did by a DAMNED DRUM, BEATING A RETREAT;
ordered by whom I never could learn; a thing that ought
never to be done, as long as any other signal can be devised.
For, had we been joined with the remains of Zastrow's corps
upon our right flank with this, and the least motion upon the
side of the Dutch, we must have made a victory unquestion-
able: and I have been assured, from very good hands, that
had we upon the right wing been able to have only kept the
field a little longer, prince Waldeck was disposing of five or
six regiments of Dutch wherein he confided most for a dernier
effort, whom he was to have conducted himself; and which,
I am persuaded, would have had the desired effect. But what
am I labouring to demonstrate might have happened, when it
was decreed it should be otherwise?

“HAD

“HAD we gained the day, it would have been very difficult for monsieur de Saxe to have retired a-cross the river by his bridges, with that considerable army he had against us, without its suffering prodigiously if we pleased to act contrary to what we had yet done throughout the war, and push any advantage we might gain; which, considering those we had at our head, we could have done; for joining with the garrison of Tournay, what might not our victorious army expect? France certainly then hazarded a dangerous game; her king being at the head of the only army he had towards these quarters, not above four or five days march from his capital. It may be likewise said we hazarded our all: but, I affirm, it was the only risk we had to run, that could save either the loss of Flanders or Brabant. It may be asserted, that we should not have hazarded a battle, but have distressed and observed the motions of marshal Saxe: though, I answer to that, we should then have just lost to the enemy what we did, without ever running the risk of having it in our power to save the country; because, the moment monsieur de Saxe had taken Tournay, his army, still growing greater, must have still been more masters of the field, than when we gave him battle; and would, I make no doubt, over and over again have offered it us; when we could not have so good a pretence, as we had after losing a battle, so often to avoid it, as I am persuaded we must, from one reason or other, have been brought to do; though I will also grant it would have been very much against his royal highness's inclinations.

“ BUT

Book

IV.

“But was it to be imagined we could foretel all the great consequences that seem as if they hung upon the fortune of that day; for what we know we may say the fate of kingdoms? Was it then possible for us to change as it were the course of nature? No! all we were permitted to do we did, and that was to retire in tolerable order, after MERITING SUCCESS; an honour our enemies do not grudge us. Our retreat began about two of the clock in the afternoon, soon after the cavalry retired that had been made to advance; which was occasioned by the drum before-mentioned, beating the retreat, I doubt, before he should have done it. I mean the retreat of the body of the army; for that of the first line happened a great while before; but then several of them rallied again, and were either in the rear, or got into the second line: but the drums beating, joined along with the cavalry breaking as they retired in several places, as well as the second line of infantry, a good pretence was thereby given to all the corps that had suffered much, or others that were beginning to grow tired of the affair, to retreat; who needed only such a reason to follow the example of others; and who, therefore, I am afraid, took opportunity to get out of danger: but it was very well they were to be rallied in and about Vefont, where his royal highness and general Ligonier, with great judgment, posted them in the most advantageous way the ground and the hurry all were in would permit.

“As

“As I had the honour to bring up the rear of the right wing out of the plain till we entered Vefont, with the brigade of horse-guards, and the remains of the battalions of Skelton and Cholmondeley, I was astonished it was so long before the enemy came within fight in our pursuit; I mean, any considerable corps of their army; for there were quickly a considerable number of grassins that kept upon our flank, but durst not enter the plain to pillage the dead and wounded till I had retired: from whence I would infer, that it is plain the enemy were in great confusion, and were a considerable time before they could rally their people, though we were gone, being so long in advancing even their advanced corps upon the edge of the rising ground where they could easily observe every motion we made: however, they at last began to advance so fast, that I thought it necessary to make some platoons of volunteers advance from my infantry to keep their most advanced parties and stragglers in respect; retiring in this manner through the village of Vefont without any accident, taking the highlanders with me who had been left lining the most advanced hedge rows. As soon as I got through the village of Vefont, I observed general Ligonier ranging troops upon the rising ground overlooking the village; when I asked him if it was determined to maintain that post of Vefont; because, if we were to do it, there would be a great many troops necessary below in the village, wherein I observed considerable numbers coming down through the woods towards the village: whereupon, after exchanging a few shot,

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Book he withdrew his people out of the village ; and immediately
 IV. after the duke's orderly cornet brought him orders to dispose a
 rear guard, so as to cover the retreat of the whole army, artillery, and baggage, under the cannon of Aeth, which was happily executed. I am afraid, to quiet our minds, there was little else to be done than to get into a camp of safety ; since we did not chuse to attack them again the next morning before the break of day ; which, at present, so much as only to suggest, must appear very extraordinary ; but which will appear more so, when I say, that, upon conditions, I do not know but we might have done it with success : for could we have prevailed upon the Dutch to have exchanged ground with our troops, giving us a solemn promise, and to have kept up to it, to have attacked the enemy before the break of day from our ground between the Bois-de-Barry and Fontenoy, with as much vigour as we should do from there where they attacked, it might have given another face to affairs.

“ BUT, there is no end to suggestions, when we allow our imaginations to rove that way ; I will, therefore, end this tedious description, with only one thing more, which I must not neglect ; as I think it speaks much in our favour : it is, that I dare venture to affirm, never did a conquered army retire with a lower notion of the enemy that beat them, than our right wing did ; nor ever was there a victorious army that had a higher idea of a parcel of people they had defeated.”

SUCH

SUCH is the account given by the earl of Craufurd of the fatal battle of Fontenoy; wherein the confederates lost 7767 men, either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and the French about 9000: but the confederate generals might have said to marshal Saxe, what Antiochus confessed to Scipio, "though they were overcome, their courage was not abated." The noble author of the elegy prefixed to this work, observes,

*This memorable slaughter, shall remain
The British glory to the latest reign:
This slaughter, where like victors Britons fought,
And Gallia's lillies almost suppliant brought.
But, in their heat of glory, ah! they die,
Unaided; overpow'r'd, compell'd they fly.*

Which serves to verify the opinion of Cæsar, upon the joy shewn by Pompey on defeating him at Dyrrachium, when his soldiers esteemed themselves absolute victors; "not remembering, as Cæsar says, the ordinary changes of war; wherein a small matter, either of a false suspicion, a sudden fright, or some other accident, frequently endangers an army; which the enemy takes to himself as if he had been victorious by his valour."

THE earl of Craufurd behaved with the greatest intrepidity and composure of mind, during the whole action; and when

BOOK his lordship saw the troops retiring, in broken parties, he
IV. faced about, and said, "Gentlemen, mind the word of
command, and you shall gain immortal honour:" upon
which, he ordered his brigade to rein back their horses, and
keep a front to the enemy; who, by this prudent disposition
of his lordship, were intimidated from approaching within a
quarter of a mile. In this retreat, his lordship observed a
broken party of infantry retiring on his right-hand, when he
spoke to them, saying, "Gentlemen, if there are any brave
volunteers, who will face about, and give the enemy a fire,
I will give them twenty ducats." Whereupon, a part of them
faced about, and gave one volley; for which his lordship gave
them the money. After this, his lordship conducted the re-
treat in excellent order, till his troops came to the pass where
he ordered them to file off from the right; when he pulled
off his hat, and returned them thanks; saying, "They had
acquired as much honour in covering so great a retreat, as if
they had gained the battle." Indeed, his lordship's quickness
in contriving, and skill and address in executing this retreat,
was highly commended by the whole army: and when several
officers complimented general Ligonier the next day on this
fine retreat, he answered, with great generosity and candour,
"That, if it was praise-worthy, no part of it belonged to
him; for it was contrived, as well as executed, by lord
Craufurd:" which was a most remarkable instance of his
lordship's capacity for a superior command.

THE defeat of the confederate army at Fontenoy, seems to be extremely similar to the defeat of Cæsar at Dyrrachium, who says, "That Pompey's party did not respect, as the cause of all this, the paucity of his men, nor the disadvantage of the place, and the streightness thereof: nor yet the army divided into two parts, in such a manner as neither of them were able to help or succour the other: neither did they add to this, that the fight was not made by any valiant encounter, or in form of battle; but that his men received more hurt from the narrowness of the place, and from their own disorder, than from the enemy." This description of Cæsar's defeat, bears a great affinity to that of the confederates: nor was there less similarity in the nature of the retreat; wherein the earl of Craufurd imitated the example of Cæsar, which is as exquisite a pattern in this kind, as any extant in history; and which ought the more to be considered, as it is one of the principal points of military art, and most worthy the knowledge of a general, to be able, upon all occasions, to make a safe and sure retreat: for those that can do nothing else, can easily commence an attack: but to return in security is that which most essentially concerns the honour of a leader; and the best way for the assuring of a retreat, is to provide against the incumbrances of an enemy in such a manner, that he may find it difficult to attack him that would retire. But of all retreats which may any way be taken from the example of beasts, that of the wolf is said to be the most commendable, who never flies but with his head turned back upon his adversaries;

BOOK adversaries; and shews such teeth, as are not to be trusted:

IV. after which manner Cæsar retired from Dyrrachium, and the earl of Craufurd conducted the retreat from Fontenoy.

THE excellency of a general, is that perfection of judgment commended by Aristotle, enabling him to discern what is most material in that variety of undertaking which falls out in the prosecution of a war: but if that cannot be obtained with any conveniency, then to know the next point of importance; and so consequently to distinguish the degrees of difference, as they stand ranked in the order of judicious proceeding: which was well understood, and as well practised, by the earl of Craufurd; who, at the same time, considered the thunder of the artillery, as the harmony of war; in the same manner as cardinal Ximenes, on a muster against the Moors, called the smoke of the guns his incense.

THE consequence of the battle of Fontenoy was the reduction of Tournay by the French; which, in the course of the campaign, was followed by the reduction of Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Dendermond, Ostend, Nieuport, Aeth, and Brussels, without any opposition from the confederate army; while the French monarch made his triumphal entry into Paris, and the duke of Cumberland was obliged to return with some of the British troops into England, on account of the rebellion which broke out in Scotland on the 11th of August, in this year: after which, the confederate army took up their winter cantonments in Antwerp and Mechlin; the French quartering themselves in their new acquisitions.

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CHAP. IV.

The earl of Craufurd's conduct towards suppressing the rebellion in Scotland. A short account of the campaign of 1746 in the Netherlands; with a particular instance of respect shewn to his lordship by marshal Saxe; as also a remarkable instance of his lordship's courage and presence of mind a few hours before the battle of Rocoux; and his remarks on that battle. His lordship marries the duke of Athol's daughter in Scotland; and returns to the army. A short account of the campaign of 1747 in the Netherlands. The countess of Craufurd dies at Aix-la-Chapelle. A short account of the campaign of 1748 in the Netherlands, to the conclusion of the general treaty of peace. The earl of Craufurd dies: his character; and his opinion concerning several military regulations.

THE earl of Craufurd acquired such reputation at the battle of Fontenoy, that, on the 30th of May 1745, being a month after the battle, he was promoted to the

CHAP. IV.

BOOK the rank of major-general; and, on the 9th of February IV. 1746, he was ordered from Antwerp into Scotland, to command a body of six thousand Hessians under the prince of Hesse, where they secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth, and commanded the passage into the Low-lands; while his royal highness the duke of Cumberland drove the rebels before him to the field of Culloden, where he happily subdued this desperate commotion: but, during his continuance in Scotland, his lordship contracted an acquaintance with the eldest daughter of the duke of Athol, to whom he paid his addresses, and was soon afterwards married.

ON the suppression of the rebellion, the earl of Craufurd returned to the army in the Netherlands, where he arrived the latter end of June, and found the confederates, consisting of 44,000 men, assembled in Brabant, under the command of marshal Bathiani; though the French, with their monarch at their head, had taken the field with 120,000 men; having already taken Antwerp and Mons; which were followed by St. Guilain and Charleroy: but before the French undertook the reduction of Namur, their army was diminished to 104,000 men, while the confederates were augmented to 87,000, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain, who marched towards Namur, to take that city under his protection.

WHILE the allied army lay at Villar's camp, to cover Namur; and the French army lay at the camp of Shelmont near

near the Cinq Etoiles, within about three leagues of one another; the earl of Craufurd was commanded with a detachment of 15,000 men, to the right of the army commanded by general Grune, to secure the march of the confederates towards their intended strong camp on the Mehaigne; when he left a young gentleman, who was serving his first campaign as volunteer under the direction of his lordship, to join him the next day, and bring him new orders, or what intelligence he could procure at the army, after the detachment had been gone; which his lordship obliged young people, whom he countenanced, frequently to do, to habituate, and give them a readiness, in making observations and remarks on the different occurrences that happen in a field. The young foldier having made his disposition for joining his lordship over night, set out early the next morning from the camp, upon his hearing some firing of small arms towards that quarter where the detachment had been sent, and taking it for granted that his lordship would in all probability be where any affair of that nature was going on, he rode directly in the front, inclining to the right, towards the place where the firing was heard. But, it having ceased before he got half way, he was obliged to inform himself where the detachment was by the out-posts that lay between it and the camp, and which were advanced pretty near the enemy, to cover the march of the whole army the next day; and after passing two of them, who directed him strait forward in their front, he came to a third, where he was informed the detachment lay still a good way further, directly on their

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right;

BOOK right; so that, following their direction, he rode towards a
IV. village at some distance on their right; and thinking that it
must be possessed by some of the confederate troops, as it lay
much nearer to the line of their camp than the post where he
had made the last enquiry, he rode up assuredly to the first
troops he saw at the entrance of the village, who were
cloathed like the Imperialists; and, asking them, in bad
German, for Grune's detachment; they also answered in
German, that they would bring him there: upon which,
they conducted him to the commanding officer in the village;
who, immediately discovering the mistake, told him in French,
"That he was now his prisoner, and that he must be sent im-
mediately to the quarters of marshal Saxe:" which was ac-
cordingly done by a corporal and six men, who conveyed him
to the Chateau de Melmont in the rear of their left wing;
where, getting acquainted with count Frize, the marshal's
nephew, and count Fitzgerald, brother to count Fitz-
James, after breakfast he was carried before the marshal;
when count Fitzgerald told him the manner of his falling in-
to their hands, and of his being of lord Craufurd's family.
The marshal was extremely diverted with the circumstances of
the accident, and much rejoiced to hear that lord Craufurd
was in health. After which, as prince Conti's detachment,
that had formed the siege of Charleroy, had joined the mar-
shal's army the day before; and as the marshal was going to
ride out to see the forces under arms, after this junction, he
was pleased, on account of the young gentleman's affinity to
the earl of Craufurd, to tell him that he might ride out
along

along with him to see the army; and that then he would send him back to the confederate camp; desiring him to ride by his nephew count Frize, who would take care of him. CHAP. IV.

When they had rode along the line, and seen the whole army, they came opposite to the nearest out-posts of the confederates, where the marshal stopt, and again desired that his compliments, and most sincere well wishes, might be made to lord Craufurd; after which, he sent the young gentleman, with a trumpet and an escort of six of his own uhlans, back to the first out-posts of the confederates.

NOTWITHSTANDING the measures taken by the confederates, prince Charles of Lorrain was obliged to remove his situation, and leave Namur to be taken by count Clermont, who entered it on the 8th of September. However, the confederates received a further additional force of five battallions under Sir John Ligonier, when they proposed to attack the French, which brought on the battle of Rocoux.

THE day before this action, being the 30th of September, the earl of Craufurd was sent with a command of eight hundred horse, formed by the piquets of the several regiments of the left wing, to take possession of the ground between the villages of Rocoux and Liers, about half a mile in the front of the left wing of the confederate army; those two villages being both filled with infantry: which post his lordship occupied about the time of sun-setting; when he detached some part of his command to join the corps under

Book general Bourchausen, lying more towards the right of the confederate army.

His lordship, before day-break the next morning, got on horseback, and, after visiting his post, went, with a few other gentlemen, to reconnoitre in the front, leaving the village of Varoux, close upon his right-hand, and after passing it, inclined a little towards the left, when he crossed the Chaussée de Tongres, keeping still on with the village of Loutain a good way to his left, untill he came to a little rising ground, from whence he saw pretty distinctly the whole plain before him, towards Schendermal, and towards the Chaussée de St. Tron, covered with the French troops in motion; who, by their disposition, and the way their march was directed, he easily perceived intended to attack the left wing of the confederate army. His lordship, after observing them for some time, and making his proper remarks, left them to proceed in their operations, and returned to his post, to send prince Charles information of what he had observed: but, his lordship in his return, went close by the village of Loutain, which he had passed before on his left-hand, to see if it would be of any advantage if occupied by the confederates; when he was a good deal surprized to find an officer, and about twenty-five men, already posted on that side of the village nearest to Rocoux, and making front towards the confederate army. Upon his lordship's suit coming in their view, which was not untill they were close upon them, they immediately levelled, and presented their pieces at them, challenging

ing his lordship's aid de camp and another gentleman, who CHAP.
were a little way before him, and, taking them for some of IV.
the Austrian troops, were riding up to them to let them
know they were friends, and had been only reconnoitering
the enemy. But his lordship, more used to the stratagems of
war, perceived, by the manner they were posted, and by their
fronting to the confederate army, that they must be a post of
French troops: upon which, he readily took the advantage
of the accident of his having seemingly come from the
French army; and, personating a French general, rode up
boldly to them; though their pieces were still presented, and
his lordship was so near as to hear them challenge again in
French; in which language, his lordship said to the officer,
“Ne tire pas, nous sommes amis;” “that is, “Don't fire,
we are friends;” and, immediately, without giving the officer
time to ask any questions, proceeded by asking him to what
regiment they belonged; and the officer answering, of the
regiment of Orleans; his lordship then said, “Fort bien,
prenez bien garde a votre poste, je m'en vais plus loin pour
reconnoitre l'ennemi;” “It is very well, keep a good look-
out with your post; I am going a little further to reconnoitre
the enemy more distinctly:” upon which, his lordship rode
off quietly; leaving the officer, whose politeness hindered
him from questioning the general any closer, in a suspense
what to make of it; untill his lordship, after having got un-
concernedly out of his reach, clapped spurs to his horse, and,
by joining his post in his fight, soon undeceived the poor
officer: which was told marshal Saxe, who was soon after
informed,

BOOK informed, by some English prisoners, that it was the earl of
 IV. Craufurd; whereupon, the marshal was extremely diverted
 with the singularity of the accident, and charmed with
 that presence of mind which his lordship shewed upon this
 occasion.

IN cases of difficulty and danger, there is always great
 assistance in a good courage: for whether it is, that good
 fortune attends a valorous behaviour; or whether virtue is
 able to remove all opposition; it generally falls out, that such
 as entertain a noble resolution, are ever safest in extremity of
 peril; and, instead of suffering a loss, obtain honour and
 renown. However, time and practice principally contribute
 to the perfection of this courage in the minds of soldiers; as
 previously knowing the weight of such labours, and having
 encountered similar dangers, even to the redeeming of them-
 selves from the most imminent scene of destruction.

THERE is no greater indignity can touch a man of repu-
 tation than to be thought not intelligent with his business:
 for as wisdom is the excellency of human nature; so a de-
 ficiency of judgment dejects men to the condition of such as
 Aristotle calls servants by nature; whose wit being too weak
 to support any weight, recompence that want with bodily
 service: which was the reason why Homer joined the sagacity
 of Ulysses to the courage of Diomedes, when they slew
 Rhæsus in their nocturnal expedition: but the earl of Crau-
 furd, by this stratagem, and his bravery the same day in the
 battle,

battle, shewed himself invested with both qualities, which, in all ages, and in all nations, have been highly esteemed in military men, as especial virtues adapted to the condition of a great commander; for a general is not the less to be valued for a fine conveyance in military projects; but is rather meritorious of greater honour, by adding art to valour, and supporting the strength of opposition with the subtilty of wit: which is consonant to the advice of Lyfander, who said, that when the lion's skin will not serve, that of the fox should be used; and when count Shullemberg made that glorious retreat over the Oder, Charles xii. of Sweden, who pursued him, could not help saying, "Shullemberg has conquered us to-day;" thereby extricating himself, according to the judicious M. Voltaire, from a dangerous extremity, "by one of those turns of art; which are as valuable as victories, and the more glorious, because fortune has no share in them:" but if the earl of Craufurd, by this stratagem, could deceive a small party of men and their officer; the same ready genius would have been as happily exerted in deceiving a general at the head of his whole army.

NECESSITY is the best trial of virtue, and it is the property of a man truly valiant to make use of it by converting it to virtue, which has many ways of proving the valour of her children: she tries the courage of Regulus, by fire, of Rutilius by banishment, of Socrates by poison, of Cato by his own sword, and of the earl of Craufurd by the fatal wound he received at Krotzka.

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THE battle of Rocoux was fought on the 1st of October, where the earl of Craufurd commanded the second line of the British cavalry, the earl of Rothes being at the head of the first, who drove back the French infantry faster than they advanced: however, the confederates thought proper to retreat, after sustaining a loss of 5200 men; though the French lost upwards of 9000, without being able to obstruct the march of the confederates to Maestricht; which terminated the campaign in the Netherlands.

THE earl of Craufurd, in his observations of this battle, seems to have been averse to any engagement; and, after urging his reasons, says, "That our dispositions could never be tolerable without prince Waldeck's occupying the suburbs of Liege, and making it cover his left flank; consequently, a great way back from where his left received the first attack of the enemy: and by making all our army advance in a line with the villages, and with our cavalry in the intervals between the villages, where they would have had plains before them to have operated. Our largest artillery ought to have been properly posted along the sides of the villages, to have scoured all the plains in the front of Rocoux, Waroux, and Liers, over which M. de Saxe's columns were obliged to march before they could approach the said villages; which, granting he should even attack, must have cost him many lives before he could have forced them, with our whole infantry more properly placed in the villages than out of them; and who

who if they were successful, in repulsing the said attacks supported by the cavalry in the intervals between the villages ready to attack the columns I suppose thrown into confusion; I will not venture to say what might have been the result of that day; at least, I am persuaded we might have maintained the field of battle untill it was night, did we judge it proper to hazard any thing offensively against an army superior to ours."

THE earl of Craufurd took up his winter quarters at Boisle-Duc; but, as his troop, and another troop of guards were broke about this time, on the 29th of December he was honoured with the commission of colonel of a regiment of foot, lately commanded by lord Semple: afterwards, he received several packets from Scotland; and, in February 1747, he took shipping at Flushing, by permission of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland; though, after being tossed several days at sea, he was obliged to land at Southampton, from whence he rode post to Belford in Scotland, where he met the duke of Athol's daughter, in company with his two sisters, and about an hour after his arrival his marriage was solemnized with that lady: but the fatigue of the voyage and the journey occasioned his wound to break out a few days after; which confined him some time before he could attend his lady to Berwick upon Tweed, where the dutchess of Athol came from London to meet them. After continuing some little time with her grace, his lordship took his lady up to London, in their way to the army in Dutch Brabant, where

BOOK IV. He accompanied him, both of them landing at Helvoetsluys on the 17th of June; from whence they proceeded to his lordship's quarters at Bois-le-Duc, where they arrived a few days before the battle of Val: his lordship, on the 22d of May, having obtained the commission of colonel of the north British grey dragoons; and, on the 16th of September following, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general.

THE confederates took the field towards the latter end of March, consisting of about 126,000 men, commanded by the duke of Cumberland; the French army consisting of 136,000 men, under marshal Saxe, attending their motions only; while count Lowendahl was detached with 27,000 men, to penetrate into Dutch Brabant, where he reduced Sluys, Sas Van Ghent, Hulst, Axel, Terneuse, and other places. In the mean time, the French monarch arrived at the head quarters, when marshal Saxe pursued his scheme of reducing Maestricht, and the confederates marched to its relief; which brought on the battle of Val, on the 21st of June: but, after an obstinate dispute, the confederates were obliged to retreat towards Maestricht, with the loss of 5680 men; though the French lost 10,200: after which, count Lowendahl reduced Bergen-op-Zoom, with the loss of upwards of 20,000 men; when both armies went into winter quarters.

THE earl of Crauford endeavoured to join the confederates before the battle of Val; but all his attempts were rendered impracticable

impracticable by several parties of French, who were scouring CHAP. the country between Bois-le-Duc and the army; which, to his IV. great mortification, he was unable to join untill the day after the battle. The countess of Craufurd continued at Bois-le-Duc untill the army was properly settled in the neighbourhood of Maestricht, when his lordship sent for her to his quarters, where she remained with him during the rest of the campaign; receiving all the entertainment that could be expected in a camp; his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, prince Waldeck, and marshal Bathiani, shewing her the greatest politeness and respect, in which their example was followed by all the other generals and officers in the army.

ON the termination of the campaign, the earl of Craufurd and his lady, accompanied by lady Catherine Wemyss, miss Campbell, and captain Wemyss, repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, for the benefit of the waters, which were of service to his lordship's wound; though it broke out again towards the latter end of October; and, while his lordship was confined to his bed, his lady was seized with a violent fever, which in four days occasioned her death. This unhappy accident was a very sensible affliction to the earl of Craufurd, as she was a most amiable lady, and had given her heart to his lordship in preference to a croud of noble lovers, on account of his gallant disposition; for she admired the character of a soldier, and certainly bestowed her affections on one of the bravest in the universe; who ordered her corps to be embalmed, and had it conveyed to Scotland, under the care of an officer and

Book IV. Some servants, to be interred in the vault belonging to his

IV. I lordship's family.

His lordship continued inconsolable at Aix-la-Chapelle for the loss of his lady, until the commencement of the campaign in 1748, when he joined the confederate army at Eyndoven, consisting of 110,000 men, commanded by the duke of Cumberland: but, as marshal Saxe had a superior army, the French invested Maëstricht; which, in consequence of the preliminary articles of peace, signed on the 19th of April, was delivered up to the besiegers; and this was followed by the general and definitive treaty of peace, concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 7th of October following; whereby the war was terminated.

Soon after the signing of the preliminary articles, the earl of Craufurd received several pressing letters from his mother-in-law the dutchess of Athol; acquainting him that she was extremely indisposed, and desiring to see him before her death: upon which, his lordship, with the permission of the duke of Cumberland, set out for London, where her grace died two days before his arrival. The fatigue his lordship underwent by his expedition to see her grace, occasioned his wound to break out again: but, immediately after he was able to support the journey, he returned to the army, and finished the last campaign, as he had began the first, with the greatest reputation among all the officers, and with the general affection of all the soldiers: his lordship commanding the last embarkation

JOHN Earl of CRAUFURD.

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embarkation of the British forces at Williamstadt, which was not done untill the 18th of February 1749, when he returned to London; where, after sustaining exquisite torture from the breaking out of his wound, he died on the 25th day of December 1749, aged forty-seven years, and was interred in his family vault at Cowpar in the county of Fife in Scotland.

From what has been thus represented, it is very evident that the earl of Craufurd had a truly martial soul; he was born a soldier, and it was his ambition to die as such in the field of battle. His personage was middle-sized, well-shaped, finely proportioned, and very strong. His personal courage was never exceeded. His generosity was equal to his bravery; his charity infinitely greater than his fortune, which many distressed widows of officers frequently experienced. His temper was serene, and dispassionate: his judgment strong; his discernment penetrating; and his diligence in the application of things, extraordinary. He was splendid in his retinue, but temperate at his table: so that he was completely formed for a great commander.

His lordship had a most exact eye in surveying of ground, and a wonderful quickness in discerning the strength or weakness of its situation, either for encamping an army to such advantage that it could not be attacked or annoyed without manifest loss to the assaulators; or for attacking an enemy that was

BOOK was encamped, with the greatest advantage the ground could
IV. afford.

He designed, and drew plans, with such great accuracy, that he beautifully represented all the heights, and the hollows; every small break, every ditch, hedge, bush, or other obstruction which could in the least incommode an army forming the line of battle in its movement; whereby any person, a little acquainted with drawing, could easily perceive which of the armies had the advantage of the ground; and which of them had improved it the most for their own security.

His lordship was always projecting, and contriving methods for expeditious marches, and for the easy carriage of every thing that was necessary for an army: in which he was for changing the bread and heavy loaves to biskets, or some such lighter bread of commodious carriage.

He was of opinion, that great advantage would be gained over an enemy by expeditious and sudden marches, and making attacks by surprize, when they were least expected; because, by all such attacks, the army attacked is struck with terror; while the assailters are inspired with great spirit and resolution, which is heightened by a confidence in the ability of the officers who command them, and contributes greatly to success in all engagements.

THE earl of Craufurd was also greatly desirous of altering the present method for managing a war, and for changing of arms; being firmly of opinion, that any army who did so, would, for some time, have advantage over their enemies. He was, therefore, of opinion, that it would be a great advantage to these nations to introduce archery into our armies; at least, so far, as that each battalion should have from twenty to four or five score able bodied men, who had been trained to shoot at butts from their youth; and that they should have high pay to encourage young men to train themselves to the use and exercise of these weapons; who should at any time of action, if the commander in chief found it most for his interest, be detached a little before the front of the first line to throw their arrows among the enemy's cavalry; after which, they should lay aside their bows and quivers, and fall in with their small arms, with the several battalions to which they belonged.

HIS lordship was also of opinion, that our grenadiers should have such heavy fire arms, as the Spaniards used under the duke of Alva, which they levelled upon the rest of a fork fixed to the piece by a swivel; for these arms carried a very heavy shot, and did execution at a great distance: therefore, his lordship imagined, that archers, and such heavy arms, would be an advantage to these nations; for, in the former wars between France and England, the English had generally the

BOOK the superiority, chiefly by their being stronger men, and better
IV. skilled in archery.

HENCE, the death of this nobleman, may be esteemed a national loss; as France will be eternally aspiring at universal monarchy, and the interest of Great Britain requires able commanders to oppose the pernicious projects of her natural enemy: but his loss is the more to be lamented, because, if he had lived, he would not have lost the benefit of the experience he acquired in war, by his indolence in time of peace: his active spirit, and his eager disposition to accomplish himself in the complete and perfect knowledge of all the parts of military skill, being so forcible in him, that he would always have been determined, when his own country was in tranquility, to have attended upon foreign armies, engaged in war, in any part of the universe.



APPENDIX.

A Relation of the late Earl of Craufurd's Wounds.

By *JAMES LAPONGE*,

SURGEON, to the Fourth Troop of Horse-Guards.

MY lord received his wounds by a musket-ball entering the posterior and superior part of the thigh, shivering the head of the bone, and, at its exit, a part of the ossa innominata. I made a longitudinal incision in the presence of Dr. Ravanet, from the entrance of the ball downwards, which favoured the extraction of many splinters from the bone; and I sawed off a portion of it that was splintered lengthways. A fever succeeding was soon abated by bleeding, &c.

Belgrade, Sept. 23, 1739.

DE FRENE,
Surgeon-major of the imperial army.

[*]

An

A P P E N D I X.

An Account of the present state of the earl of Craufurd's health since he received his wounds at the battle of Krotzka. July 29, 1739.

THE 22d of July I set out with Dr. Damposh, physician of his imperial majesty's armies, to my lord, then at Belgrade: we met Dr. Ravanet, and mons. de Frene, surgeon-major; we examined his lordship's wounds, and found the left femur very much shattered, near the greater trochanter; a portion of the ball was felt near the groin; a swelling and inflammation occupied almost the thigh, with the spermatick vessels which were greatly distended. This last we apprehended might be owing to the pressure of some foreign body on them: as the incisions at the entrance and exit of the ball were not sufficient, we enlarged them; bleeding was often administered. The 5th of August we left my lord under the care of Dr. Ravanet and mons. de Frene, untill the 26th of October, when he was conveyed aboard a vessel up the Danube. During that interval of time, mons. de Frene had extracted several splinters; and as he had orders from the court of Vienna to continue attending my lord, he embarked with him; but as the plague then raged in Hungary, and as it was necessary to perform quarantine, they were obliged to stay at Almas.

THE 29th of November I had the honour of seeing his lordship at that place, and consulted on the 30th with mons. de Frene. We introduced the probe into the posterior wound, and feeling several loose splinters we enlarged it to facilitate their exit; some days after the incision he extracted six small splinters, and informed me he had taken out several, not only at Belgrade, but likewise when he went up the Danube. The anterior part of the wound was cicatrized; but this was a swelling on the superior part which extended to the scrotum, the spermatick vessels were greatly enlarged and varicous, which we imagined proceeded from the pressure of some foreign body; we applied proper topicks, and agreed to wait till nature would make a farther discovery, either by the formation of an abscess,

or

A P P E N D I X.

or other means. It was observed, that whenever we pressed below the ring of the abdominal muscles, and the side of the scrotum, my lord complained of great pain, and matter issued out. Notwithstanding the use of injections the sinus furnished matter plentifully night and morning, which inclined us to think that the wound would remain fistulous, unless we made a counter opening on the side of the scrotum, where we first perceived the bag by the probe. As we had no more exfoliations from the femur, and that the callous was formed, it was agreed to leave off the bandage.

I WENT to Vienna, and during that time my lord returned up the Danube to Comorra, where he remained, not being able to proceed on account of the ice. On the 16th of February, Mr. Robinson, his Britannic majesty's envoy, sent me word to be with him the next day, with Dr. Damposh: he informed us of a letter he had received from my lord, in which he desired his excellency would send us to him as soon as possible, for that the foreign body had slipped into the scrotum; and that monf. de Frene would not consent to make any incisions, unless we were present.

ON the 19th we arrived at my lord's; monf. de Frene acquainted us, that his patient had been attacked by a considerable erysipilas, spreading from the superior part of the thigh, to the inferior part of the leg; but that he had got the better of it. On the internal and posterior part of the wound was an oedematous tumour, extending to the lower part of the leg. We examined the foreign body lodged in the scrotum, and agreed to make an incision thereon, which was done by monf. de Frene. On the 20th in the morning he extracted a ball of a triangular figure, flat and unequal, owing to the resistance it met with against the femur; the long stay of the ball had given rise to the sinus formed below the ring and side of the scrotum, as abovementioned. The operation being over, a probe was introduced into the sinus of the posterior part, as far as into the scrotum, directly under the spermatic vessels; and we found the necessity of making a second opening to enlarge the sinus formed on the side of the scrotum. Monf. de Frene made two small incisions, but, a hæmorrhage ensuing, he desisted, till on the 22d, when the probe being introduced into the

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APPENDIX.

the sinus, he laid the whole open, on which a foetid pus was discharged Wednesday the 24th, seeing our incisions had the desired effect, and that but little matter came from the posterior wound, and that it was of a good consistence, we took leave of my lord, and left him under the care of mons. de Frene. We were on our return to Vienna; but as no ships are suffered to pass the line without performing quarantine, we went to Mannersdorff, by order of his excellency count Doedt, for eight days, but having staid six there, we received an express from mons. de Frene, by which he informed us, that my lord had a very considerable erysipilas spreading over the whole thigh and leg, attended with a fever; that he desired we would return with all expedition, to agree on some method or other, to check the progress of those violent symptoms; and that the cicatrix of the posterior wound being mortified, he was apprehensive of worse consequences. We departed immediately, being the 2d of March; the next day we arrived about eleven at my lord's; and examining the part afflicted, we perceived a great tension with redness, extending from the posterior wound to the knee. We apprehended matter was forming there; and on the 5th, feeling a fluctuation, we made an incision, and let out a large quantity of it, the wound being dressed we took leave of him. The next day he was tolerably well, and the tension of the thigh and leg much abated; besides that the other incisions succeeded to our wishes, that of the scrotum being near cicatrized: We now hope my lord will receive a perfect cure, the posterior wound affording but little matter, and that of a good consistence. To-morrow we return to Vienna, leaving him under the care of mons. de Frene to compleat his cure. I have nothing further to say, but that my lord is very weak and much reduced, from the great discharge, and strict diet he kept to.

At Comorra, March 9, 1740, N.S.

LIONS,
Surgeon-major of the imperial army.

Since

Since the last relation given the 9th of March at Comorra.

ON the 10th of the said month I left Comorra, and returned with Dr. Dambozh to Vienna. We left my lord under the care of monsieur de Frene, who informed us, by a letter dated the 20th, that my lord had been attacked with a pain of his side, attended with a fever, which soon left him by bleeding, &c. That his thigh and leg were considerably diminished; that two small scales from the posterior wound, and one from the anterior wound had been extracted, besides that the wound of the scrotum, and that of the external part of the thigh, which was intended as a drain, were cicatrized: On the 27th my lord went on board, and was carried up the Danube: The next day he was seized with a severe catarrh and fever, he was blooded, and next day took two ounces of manna and other medicines. During his passage, his thigh and leg swelled considerably. Monf. de Frene applied cataplasms, animated with spirits of wine and camphire. The 7th of May in the evening, he arrived at Vienna. The 8th in the morning, Dr. Dambozh met us at my lord's, who then had a fever, a violent cough, a pain in his side, and was expectorating a quantity of slimy matter. The Dr. ordered him proper internals, and we proceeded to examine his wounds. The thigh and leg were much swelled, and, notwithstanding the disorder of the parts, the matter was well conditioned. His lordship complaining of his stomach, the Dr. ordered him the hypocuanha, this relieved him, and the thigh and leg began to diminish. A consultation was agreed on the next morning, when the following gentlemen met, monf. le Baron Bassant, first physician to his royal highness the grand duke of Tuscany, monf. Brady, first physician of his imperial majesty's armies, and monf. Feumur, surgeon to the empress Dowager, dressed my lord before them, and then deliberated on some method to relieve the different symptoms he laboured under. Monf. de Frene gave them a detail of the medicines made use of internally and externally from the beginning to that day. It was agreed, on account of his weakness, to give him barley-water and milk for his common drink, to take twice a day

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day an absorbent pectoral and febrifuge opiat. On the 18th my lord began to drink asses milk twice a day, which he took for some time, by which means his cough and fever were much abated. The 26th, the discharge was black and foetid, and next day we extracted a large piece from the Bone, about the bigness of a peach stone, with some small scales mixed with the matter. We expect more exfoliations. The anterior sinus discharges more than it did some days ago, which we believe was suppressed on account of his fever. The balsamick and vulnerary injection was made use of. The thigh and leg are at present in a natural state, there only remains a small swelling, on the anterior and superior part of the thigh, between the two sinuses from whence the foreign bodies were extracted. By using a lubricating liniment, my lord can bend his knee almost half way, and turn himself without assistance, on his right side; as the callous is hardened, we are in hopes he may receive a perfect cure.

Vienna, May the 31st, 1740.

LYONS.

ON the 13th of July, one scale from the anterior, and three from the posterior wound, came away. On the 17th, a part of the extremity of the bone that was sawed at Belgrade came away. On the 25th, another small scale: I then put my lord into the Bath. By the 11th of August, the posterior wound was quite cicatrized; but, on the 19th, it opened again, though nothing came away. We continued the Bath until the 25th of September, on which day he was seized with a nephritick cholick; this oblig'd him to desist, as being a mineral water. We let him rest until the 5th of October, when he set out for Baden, to try the sulphurous and nitrous baths famed for those kind of wounds. Since the 27th of May, to the 17th day of June, my lord continued daily gathering strength; on this day I extracted a small scale from the anterior wound. On the 24th, I extracted two from the posterior wound, and one from the anterior, all three larger than the former. On the 28th, I endeavoured to make my lord stand upright, which he did for some time. On the 29th, we attempted the same, and he staid above an hour. On the 2d of July, he sat on a chair three hours. On the 5th, I extracted a small scale from the anterior wound. As in all probability we shall have more scales loosening, we have agreed with Dr. Baffan to make a domestick

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domestick bath for promoting the exfoliations. On the 5th of October last we arrived at Baden, as I have already mentioned; and having prepared my lord, he began the bath on the 8th, and continued it every day, staying in two hours and a half at a time. On the 2d of November, when the dressings were taken off, there was a small scale from the posterior wound. On the 10th, there came away another the size of a cherry. On the 15th of the same month, the wound was quite cicatrized, and has remained so to this day. The anterior wound still remains fistulous, and the sinus runs directly under the triceps, we have reason to imagine, that there are some splinters from the bones lodged in the interstices of the muscles, as we cannot make incisions as far as the sinus extends; but must wait till nature thrust them nearer the outward parts, by the help of exercise and the bath.

Baden, January the 20th, 1740.

DE FRENE.

SIR,

I Received yours, with a particular account of my lord's wounds, and the different accidents that happened during the cure. I think it necessary to procure the separation of the remaining fragments; as there is a free discharge, there are hopes of a free passage; and this more so, as no bad symptoms yet appear, such as fever, &c. which might prove dangerous by too suddenly suppressing matter. As the humours may be afflicted by some portion of it absorbed into the blood, the body may remain emaciated, and notwithstanding the care and diligence of the surgeon, the ulcer may turn fistulous; to prevent which, I would advise the waters of Barege as the only remedy for those kinds of accidents, as they restore the proper fluidity to the blood; and likewise fortify the solids.

Paris, January the 26th, 1740.

DIBON, Surgeon of the King of
France's Swiss Body Guard.

SIR,

As they have extracted several splinters at different times from the bone, its to be feared there are more remaining, therefore I think it necessary to keep the wound open for some time. If the spermatic vessels

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sels continue turgid, some foreign body still remains, which time and other symptoms will discover; if otherwise, you may heal up the wound. After the cure, the disorders of the solids, as well as that of the fluids, must be prevented; by giving the juices a balsamick quality, and bracing the solids, to which the waters of Barege will greatly contribute.

Paris, April the 11th, 1740.

DIBON.

S I R,

AS the sinus still remains under the triceps, I am apt to think that some foreign substance presses on the soft parts, which may rise to an abscess, and the matter being confined, new sinuses may form inwardly, and consequently more accidents are to be feared; especially if the foreign body lie any time before it manifest itself. I do not apprehend, that opening the sinus can occasion any bad consequence, a dexterous hand may easily avoid the branches of the crural artery. The great sinuses, from repeated exfoliations, and weakness of the parts, joined to several circumstances of the like nature, confirm me in the opinion, that without the assistance of the waters of Barege, there are but little hopes of his lordship's obtaining a perfect cure.

DIBON.

WHEN my lord came first to London, after the cure of his wound, he frequently complained of an uneasy and disagreeable sensation, particularly upon motion, about the upper part of the thigh, near the groin; upon examination, we found two small hard substances which lay under the skin, which upon pressure gave a slight pricking pain. A consultation being agreed on, several eminent surgeons were present, and it was resolved to divide the skin, to discover what those substances were which we felt. My lord Craufurd himself, insisted upon holding the skin on one side, while Mr. Middleton did the same on the other with one hand, and with the other made an incision through the skin into the cellular membrane, and extracted two bits of lead, portions of the ball which had been divided by the resistance of the thigh bone, when he received the shot: As soon as those bits of lead were taken out of the wound, his lordship immediately thrust one of his fingers into it, to examine if any thing was left behind.

And

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And this he did in a much rougher manner than any surgeon would have done to the meanest patient. This serves to shew us, what resolution he was possessed of.

FROM the year 1742, that my lord joined the British army then in Germany, I, to the year 1749, attended his lordship five times. And tho' no splinters ever appeared during all the times the wound was open, yet the discharge was extremely foetid, and contained in appearance a fabulous or bony substance. The wound was generally filled and cicatrized in about six weeks, and then he used the Cold Bath.

LAPONGE.

An account of my lord Craufurd's death and the dissection of his body by the physicians who attended him.

LORD Craufurd died in the end of December, 1749. About two months before his death, his wound broke out again, and tho' it was soon healed, and gave no unusual pain, yet his lordship was observed for the first time to be low spirited all the time of the cure. And the same dejection, with want of appetite, hectic heats, and a mucous sediment in his water, like matter, continued after his going abroad, which he did daily, either to take the air or to visit, and was never confined afterwards, till the day before he died; when being more than usually indisposed, he kept at home, was blooded, and took the common draughts of salt of wormwood and lemon-juice. The blood was very fizy. In the evening, finding himself much relieved, he eat some chicken for supper, and went to sleep without any complaint. Early next morning he called for one of his draughts, and told his servant, he had rested pretty well; but soon after his lordship was suddenly seized with convulsions, which lasted for a minute or two, and during that time he lost his speech, and became insensible. After the fit was over, he continued to breathe with labour; and tho' he answered questions distinctly, it was with some hesitation, and he

[**]

spoke

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spoke little, lying like one stunned by a blow, for about two hours. Then the fit returned, but with more violent and longer convulsions: and at this time he breathed with more difficulty, and with the apoplectic *stertor*. Upon this second attack, only 3 or 4 ounces of blood were taken away; for his pulse, which had continued low from the first fit, then sunk, his extremities became cold, and his face pale. After the convulsions ceased, his lordship lay some minutes quite insensible, and then expired.

ON the 4th day after, the body was opened in the presence of Dr. Pringle, and Dr. Clephane, Physicians, Mess. Middleton and Laponge, Surgeons. All the *viscera* appear'd pale and flaccid; and both the ventricles of the heart were found empty of blood, and without any polypous concretion. In the brain was no effusion of blood, nor any more serum in the ventricles, than might have oozed into them during the fits, or after death. The lungs were found, with only a few slight adhesions to the pleura; the stomach was large and relaxed, and with the duodenum contained a good deal of viscid phlegm; the intestines, liver, spleen and omentum were in good condition, the flaccidity and paleness excepted: but of all the *viscera*, the kidneys were the palest and most flaccid. The bladder was half full, and in the urine was found some mucus, like that which was said to subside in it, since the last breaking out of the wound.

THE wounded parts being dissected, we found a perfect *anchylosis* of the hip-joint; the great *trochanter* of the thigh-bone was wanting; but from its place downwards, for a hand's breadth, we observed, that the bone was thicker than natural, callous and rugged, and that the periosteum was also thick and unequal. The *cervix* had been broken through in the middle, so that the two ends of the bone tallying, moved upon one another, forwards and backwards, forming an articulation of that kind called *ginglymus*. The motion was rendered the easier by a thin cartilaginous substance, covering the ends of the bones; and the new joint was secured by the surrounding muscles, the fibres of which, near this part, having become hard and membranous. Such were the efforts of nature. But this articulation was far from being compleat; for the *sinovia* was wanting, and the ends of the bones were too small and pointed to allow of much stress or motion without breaking.

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It is probable, that some of the later openings of the wound were owing to the constant efforts his lordship made, by exercise, to improve this motion, mistaken by him for that of the true joint, which he had lost from the time he received the shot. For the over-straining of these tender parts might not only occasion frequent inflammations and suppurations, but even abrasions of the bone itself.

JOHN PRINGLE,
JOHN CLEPHANE.

F I N I S,

A P P E N D I X

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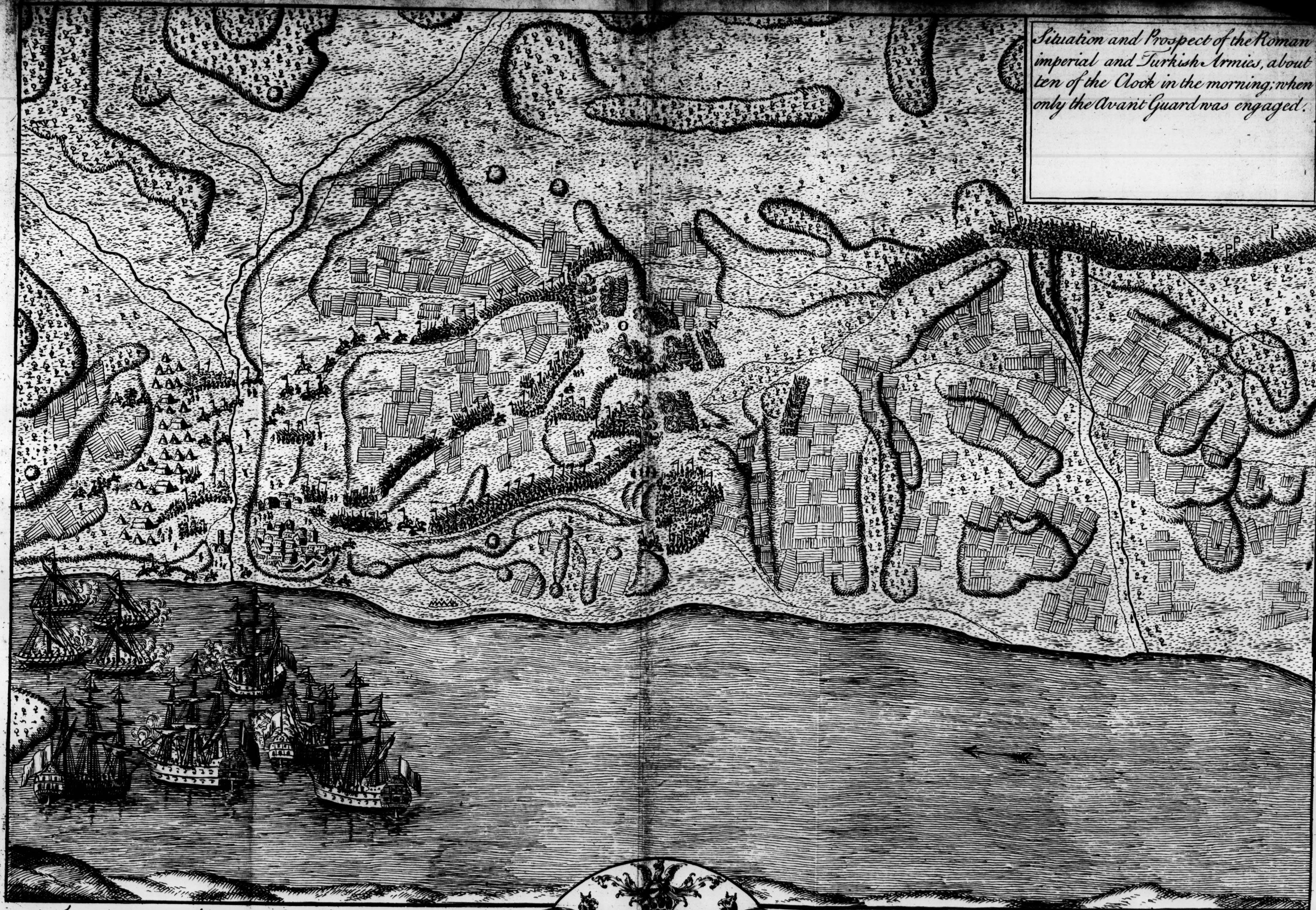


JOHN PRINGLE

JOHN CRYSTIAN

E L W I S

*Situation and Prospect of the Roman
imperial and Turkish Armies, about
ten of the Clock in the morning; when
only the Avant Guard was engaged.*



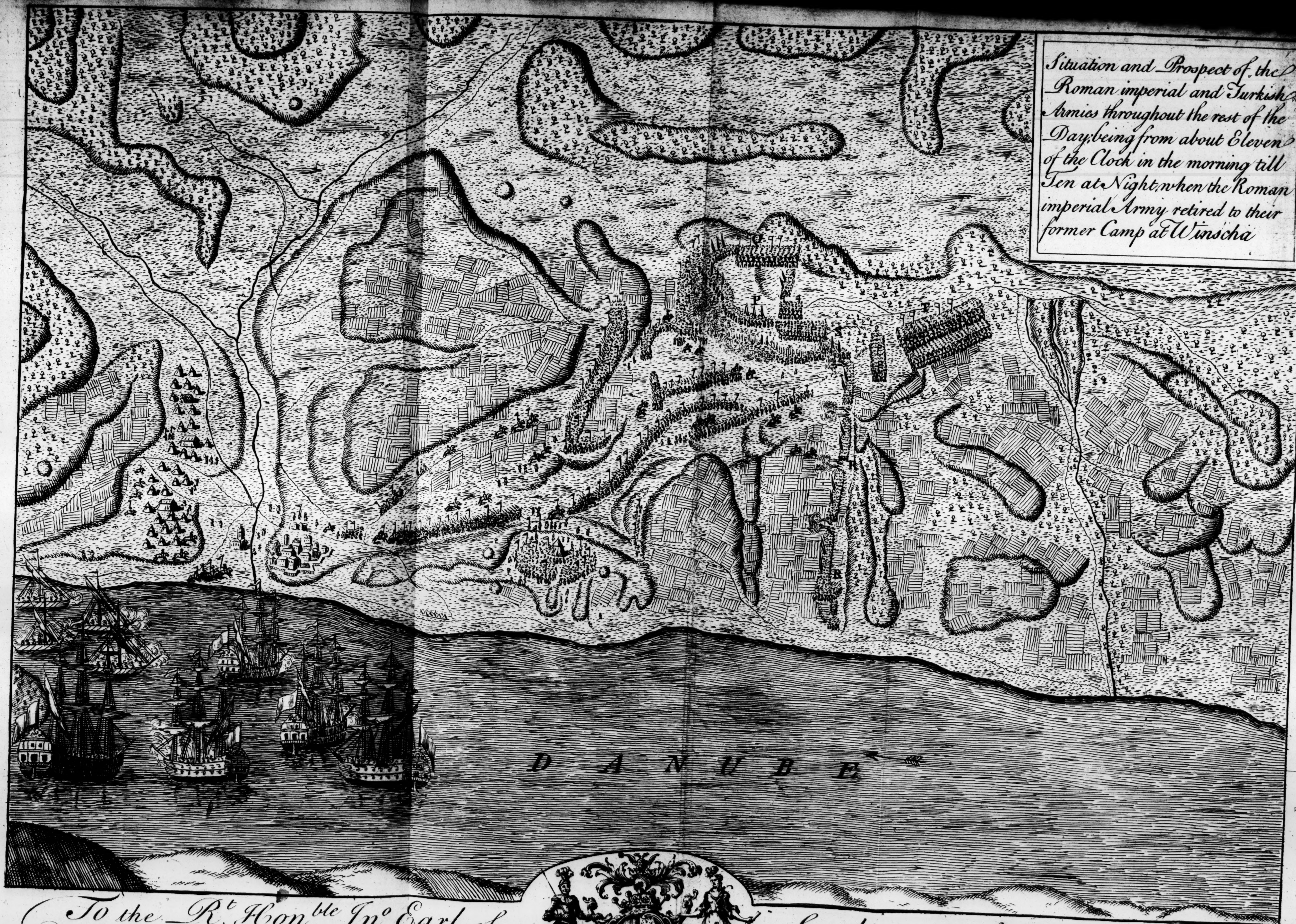
*To the R.^t Hon.^{ble} Jⁿ. Earl of Rothes, Lieu.^t
Third Reg.^t of Foot Guards, and*

This PLAN, is most Humbly Inscrib'd by his Lordships



*Gen.^l of His Majesty's Forces; Col.^l of the
one of the Sixteen Peers of Scotland.
most Humble, & Obedient Serv.^t Henry Köpp.*

*Situation and Prospect of the
Roman imperial and Turkish
Armies throughout the rest of the
Day, being from about Eleven
of the Clock in the morning till
Ten at Night, when the Roman
imperial Army retired to their
former Camp at Winscha*

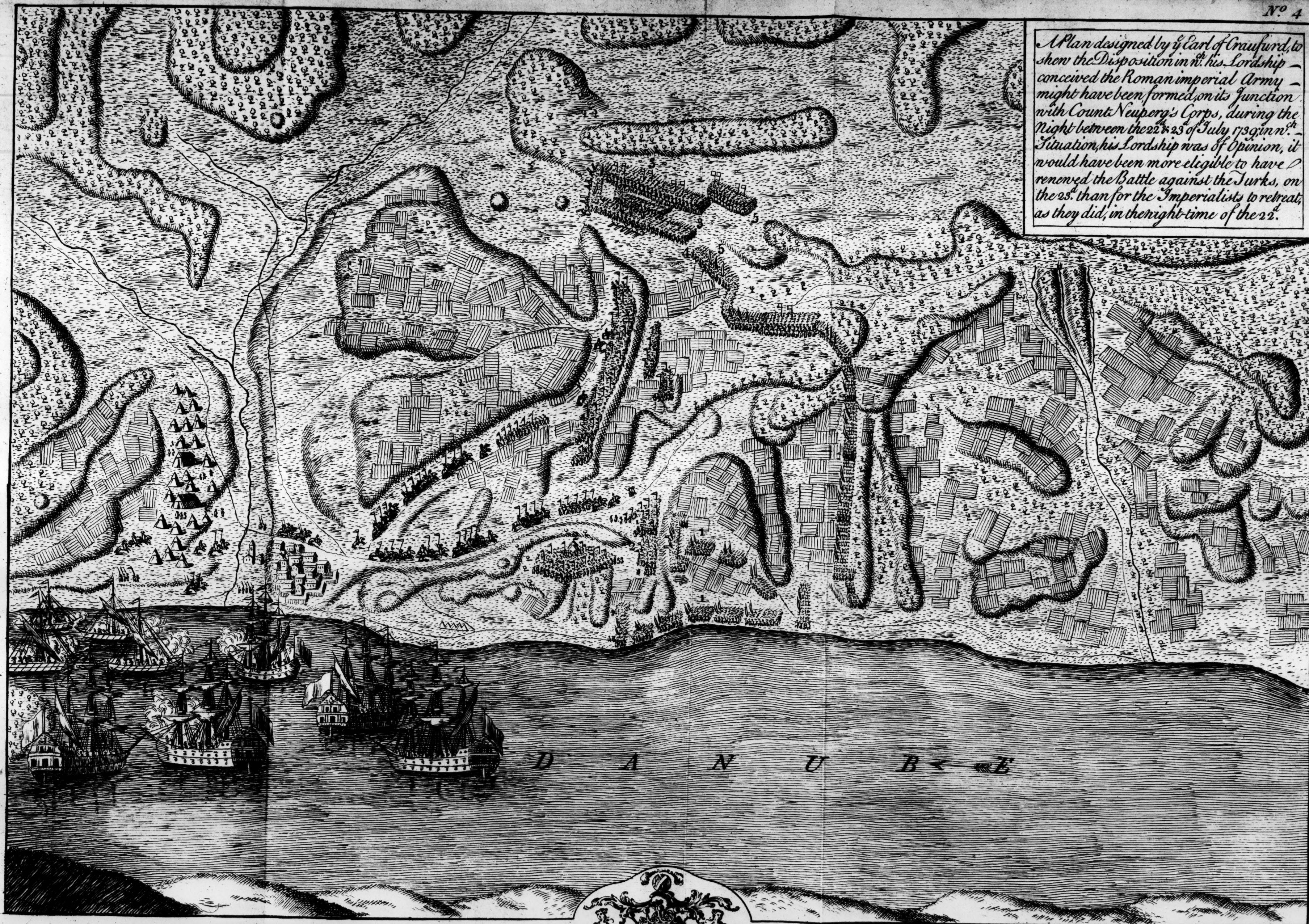


*To the R.^t Hon.^{ble} Jn.^o Earl of
Scotland, and Col.^l of
This PLAN, is most Humbly Incribed by his*



*Loudoun, one of the Sixteen Peers, of
a Reg.^t of Foot; &c.
Lordship's most Humble Serv.^t Henry Köpp.*

A Plan designed by J. Carl of Crauford, to show the Disposition in N^o. his Lordship conceived the Roman imperial Army might have been formed on its Junction with Count Neuperg's Corps, during the Night between the 22^d & 23^d of July 1739 in N^o. Situation, his Lordship was of Opinion, it would have been more eligible to have renewed the Battle against the Turks, on the 23^d than for the Imperialists to retreat, as they did, in the night-time of the 22^d.



To the R.^t Hon^{ble} Jⁿ. Earl
This PLAN is most Humbly Inscrib'd, by his



of Floptoun &c &c.
Lordship's most Obedient Serv^t Henry Köpp.

ERRATA.

Page 31. line 12. for *unmarried* read *without issue*. Page 188. l. 1. for *consequen* read *consequences*. Ditto l. 9. for *impertient* read *impertinent*. Page 201. l. 5. for *then* read *than*. Page 208. l. 25. dele *and*. Page 209. omit the references to the plan, which has not been yet sent from Germany, tho' for a long time expected. Page 227. l. 8. for *Schr's* read *Sehr's*. Page 230. l. 4. of the note, for *proceeding* read *preceding*. Page 234. last line, for *was* read *were*. Page 239. l. 15. for *dning* read *during*. Page 240. l. 2. for *from ten to 86 pound weight*, read *from one to 100 pounds weight*. Page 242. l. 22. for *capchin* read *capuchin*. Page 248. l. 1. for *resting* read *rising*. Page 256. l. 16. for *Eugence* read *Eugene*. Page 264. l. 25. for *as* read *and*. Page 275. l. 6. for *similar* read *singular*. Page 279. l. 2. for *mat* read *matter*. Page 288. l. 15. for *his wife, his mate*, read *his mate, his wife*. Page 288. last line, for *drawn* read *draw*. Page 296. l. 5. for *morassy* read *morassy*. Page 305. l. 19. for *Schulemberg* read *Salemberg*. Page 349. l. 24. for *Turnne* read *Turenne*. Page 381. l. 13. for *sift* read *insist*. Page 416. last line, for *Shelmont* read *Melmont*. APPENDIX, page 1. l. 26. for *this* read *there*. Page 2. l. 19. for *by* read *with*. Page 4. l. 20. after *suppressing* read *the*.

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